

*New York Times*

# CURRENT HISTORY

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With Index



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# CURRENT HISTORY

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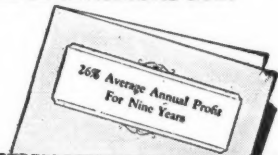
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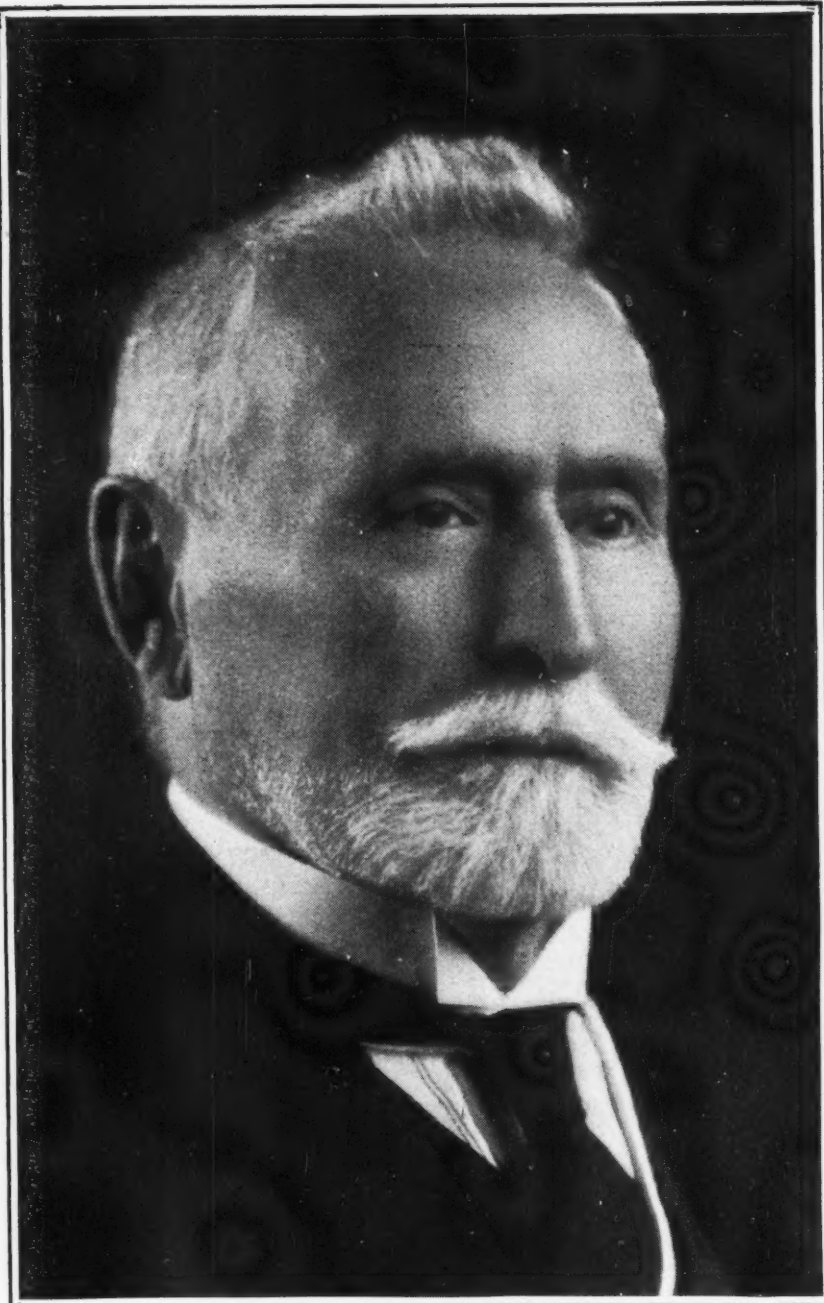
C.H.H.

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Notman, Montreal, from Wide World

**RAOUL DANDURAND**

*A Senator of the Dominion of Canada and a member of the Canadian Cabinet, who was elected President of the Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva on Sept. 7, 1925. He was formerly Speaker of the Canadian Senate*





# CURRENT HISTORY

Vol. XXIII.

OCTOBER, 1925

Number 1

## War on the Growing Menace of Crime

By MARK O. PRENTISS

TODAY the greatest outstanding menace in America is crime. I am not an alarmist when I boldly state that crime in this country is overwhelming the people and confounding the police. Last year there were 10,000 murders and more than 300,000 robberies and hold-ups, and in many thousands of those criminal acts the victims were wounded, beaten and terrified.

In the words of the special committee of the American Bar Association on Law Enforcement: "Crime and lawlessness in the United States have been steadily on the increase and out of proportion to our growth, and there has been a steady and growing disrespect for law." I quote also from Justice Goff of New York: "It can be safely stated that in the history of this country we have never been before confronted with anything like the criminal conditions we have today. \* \* \* Not a day passes that there is not recounted in the newspapers some terrible outrage involving robbery and murder."

William B. Joyce, Chairman of the National Surety Company, has stated that \$2,000,000,000 is taken from the American people every year by fraud, and that does not include the money taken by crimes of violence. I am well

within conservative limits when I estimate that, if crime increases in the United States next year in the same ratio as it has increased this year over last, the number of murders in 1926 will be 12,000 and the property loss through crime \$10,000,000,000.

Chief Justice Taft has said:

The administration of criminal law in the United States is a disgrace to civilization. The trial of a criminal seems like a game of chance, with all the chances in favor of the criminal, and if he escapes, he seems to have the sympathy of a sporting public.

I am not going far into figures, because extended and accurate statistics are wanting. Out of the forty-eight States only fifteen make any pretense of securing crime figures. The majority of the States have disconnected and incomplete returns of criminal acts and convictions from the various county prosecuting attorneys, and those accounts are not compiled and tabulated by the State attorneys. But I am pos-

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Mr. Prentiss, who participated in the initiation of the movement which led to the formation of the National Crime Commission, is a business man, publicist and social worker, born in Minnesota in 1874. This article represents Mr. Prentiss's personal views. A further article embodying the official views of the commission, by Mr. F. Trubee Davison, Chairman, will appear in a subsequent issue.

sessed of enough figures and data to state confidently that there is no place in the world where criminals hold such sway as they do in this country. This is evidenced by a careful survey made in London, which shows there are 160 murders in New York City to 10 in London. Seven of ten murderers in London are hanged. One of 160 in New York goes to the chair. But New York is not the worst city in the United States from a criminal viewpoint. On the ratio of population St. Louis, Memphis, Jacksonville and other cities have higher crime records, and Chicago recently attained first place with a record of a murder a day. That record is thirteen times greater than all the murders in the Dominion of Canada.

#### ALARMING INCREASE OF CRIME

And crime in this country is still on the increase, and the danger from criminals is growing greater and greater every day. Judge Marcus Kavanagh, one of the greatest jurists sitting on the criminal bench in this country, says there are at the present time 135,000 murderers at liberty in the United States menacing us in cities, towns and highways, and that there are more than 350,000 men and women who make their living either wholly or partly by crime.

I could give other figures and other facts showing that crime in America has become so astounding in its extent and so alarming in its contagious spread that it has got beyond the grasp of the constituted authorities of the nation, State and city whose duty it is to suppress and control crime and is terrorizing the honest citizens who have the right to expect protection. The daily newspapers confirm this statement every day.

James M. Beck, one of the great lawyers of the country, has said:

The statistics of our criminal courts show in recent years an unprecedented growth in crimes. \* \* \* The streets of our cities, once reasonably secure from crimes of violence, have now become the field of operations for the footpad and the highwayman. The days of Dick Turpin and Jack Sheppard have returned,

with this serious difference—that the Turpins and Sheppards of our day are not dependent upon the horse, but have the powerful automobile to facilitate their crimes and make sure their escape.

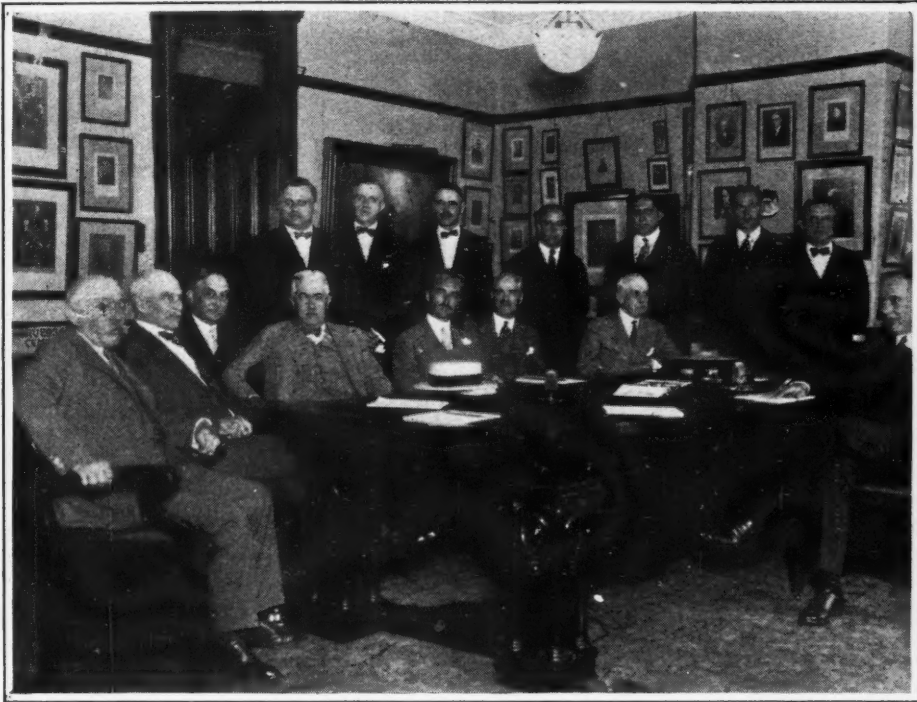
Crime is here. It is submerging our very national institutions. The question then is: What shall we do to subdue it—to stop it?

First of all, we must understand the various types of criminals and the conditions and causes which actuate them to commit crime. There must be a systematic method in the investigation and analysis of all crimes and all criminals and a constructive solution for the cure. In the beginning it should be clearly understood that any attempt to engage in the true study of crime in America must be based on a matter-of-fact knowledge of existing conditions, and not on a theory that will complicate the situation and end only in confounding us. We have got to stop theorizing. The fact is painful and mortifying that crime is organized, and that to meet it and defeat it, society must organize. If we do not realize that and act on that realization, in a few years crime in this country will be more dangerous than a revolution. Some of us have been so intent on studying the psychology of the criminals that we have neglected to study our own psychology. And the psychology of the average honest, loyal, law-abiding citizen is really the important starting point in this study of crime and its cure.

What is the first difficulty we meet in fighting crime? It is indifference on the part of the very people we are seeking means to protect. We—the great majority of citizens—have become deadened and numb. We stand for crime as though we had to stand for it. We do not grasp the magnitude of the danger of the present conditions that exist all over this country. It is almost impossible to arouse the people to action.

#### LACK OF PUNISHMENT A MAIN FACTOR

I had an experience in Rome three years ago on my way from Turkey coming home through Italy. I entered Rome with Mussolini, the Fascist. For two



Wide World

Meeting of the National Crime Commission. Sitting (from left to right): George W. Wick-ersham, Judge Gary, Governor Silzer, John W. Davis, Stanley A. Sweet, William B. Joyce, William A. Saunders, Richard Washburn Child; standing (from left to right): Burdette G. Lewis, C. K. Woodbridge, E. A. St. John, Mr. Baum, W. H. Pouch, F. Trubee Davison and Charles S. Whitman

weeks following the overthrow of the Italian Government I witnessed the lawlessness and disorder that prevailed everywhere and in talking with Italian officials and citizens I commented on this condition. I received a shock when they said to me:

You surely surprise us by making such a remark—you who come from America of all countries in the world where human life and property are not safe; where banditry and brigandage, murder, arson and all forms of crimes of violence are not only far in excess of any other country on earth, but are continuing day by day and increasing year by year.

This gave me food for thought. I had to admit the truth of the statement, and any one who makes even a superficial examination of our criminal records knows that that opinion of us is correct. Admitting then that crime prevails in

this country to a greater extent than in any other country in the world, naturally the first question is "Why?" And I answer: "Because in this country crime, to a great extent, goes unpunished."

Judge Alfred J. Talley of the Court of General Sessions of New York, one of the greatest criminal courts in the world, is authority for the statement that the criminal in the hands of the police has forty chances to one to escape punishment. And if you take the estimate of the average man in the street that the criminal's chances of apprehension by the police are one hundred to one in his favor I think my answer is not at all exaggerated.

The next query is: "Why does crime go unpunished?" Practically every State in the Union is fighting crime under ancient criminal laws. In New



York the penal code of 1840 is still being used by us. We are working on the same old criminal laws that we have used for years. These laws should be amended. Lack of cooperation is another handicap. This applies to the police, the prosecutor, the judiciary, the Governor and the Parole Board, all of whom could cooperate on behalf of their client—Society. But do they? Sometimes they work in opposite directions to one another. The lack of cooperation among the different States is even more marked than it is among the various officials of the same State. There is no general roster of criminals that will identify them in passing from one State to another. They are free to come and go as they please. No one will stop them. There is no national record of their crimes to indicate whether they are second, third or fourth offenders. That record is not even kept in the same city. Recently a young burglar who had been arrested thirty-two times for burglary was paroled the thirty-second time by a Judge who had more of the milk of human kindness in his heart for the burglar than he had for his victims.

"Well, who is to blame for this laxity?" I am asked that question time and time again. The layman has put the burden of blame upon the legal profession. Popular opinion blames the lawyers for the law's delay in criminal cases, for the defeat of justice by the acquittal of the known guilty on technicalities and for many other legal stumbling blocks that are keeping the criminals free and the honest men in increasing terror.

Roscoe Pound, Dean of the Harvard Law School, has said, "Criminal law is the almost exclusive field of the lower stratum of the American bar." I shall not presume to pass judgment upon this, but I do not hesitate to say that the opportunity to render the greatest service of our time by reforming our criminal court procedure rests almost entirely with our lawyers. Dr. Charles W. Eliot of Harvard, in an address to the Massachusetts Bar Association, said, "The immediate

duty of the American Bar is to lead the way to a great legal reform."

It may prove of interest, and at the same time may be quite a shock, to learn of a few reasons why the higher courts set aside convictions in the lower courts. A great many people labor under the delusion that when a case is appealed to a higher court, that court considers the entire record and says from it whether the defendant has been rightfully convicted, whether he was really guilty of the crime or not. Such is not the case. All the higher courts do is to decide whether the defendant has been tried scientifically. Let me cite some of the ridiculous holdings made by the appellate courts and give a few instances from our own State reports:

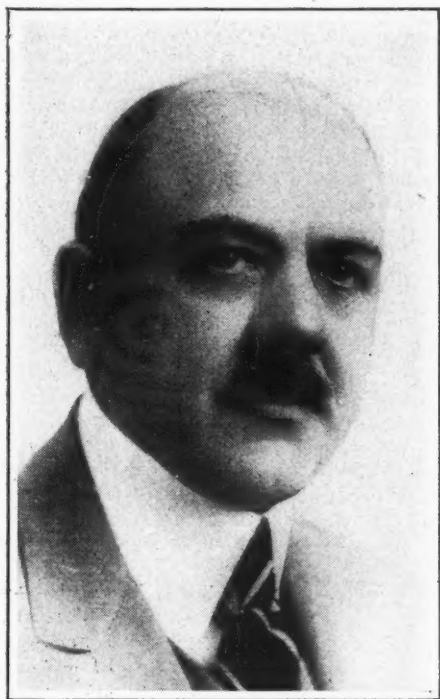
A defendant was convicted under an indictment charging the theft of \$100, "lawful money." The conviction was set aside because the indictment did not say "lawful money of the United States." The court gave as the reason for granting the defendant a new trial that the victim might have been carrying around Mexican money.

A defendant was convicted of stealing a pistol under an indictment which described the pistol as a "Smith & Weston" revolver. A new trial was granted because the proof showed that the defendant stole a "Smith & Wesson" revolver.

In Chicago a notorious criminal known as "Eddie the Immune" was convicted of stealing \$59. There was never the shadow of a doubt as to his guilt. The verdict was set aside on appeal because the jury in its verdict did not find the amount stolen.

In Georgia a defendant was convicted under an indictment which charged that he stole a hog that had a slit out of its right ear and a clip out of the left. The appellate court granted the defendant a new trial because, while it was proved that the defendant stole the hog, the evidence disclosed that it was a hog with a slit out of its left ear and a clip out of its right ear.

In another case where a defendant was



MARK O. PRENTISS

Organizer of the National Crime Commission

convicted of a serious crime the conviction was set aside by the higher court because the word "the" was left out of the concluding phrase of the indictment, "against the peace and dignity of the State."

In another case a defendant was convicted of stealing a pair of boots. The judgment of the trial court was set aside by the higher court, because it appeared that while the defendant had stolen two boots, he had stolen two rights.

In yet another case a conviction for larceny was set aside because the indictment averred that it occurred in a "storehouse" when it should have used the word "storeroom."

In a Montana case a verdict of guilty of larceny was set aside on appeal because the trial judge instructed the jury that it must find intent to steal instead of a criminal intent.

Under another absurd ruling a conviction for stealing was set aside because

there was no proof that 800 pounds of cotton was a thing of value.

In yet another case involving some offense along a public road the conviction was set aside because, while the proof showed that the road had been used for thirty years as a public road, it did not show that the road had ever been formally dedicated to the public.

These are a few examples of the absurdly technical holdings of the courts which have delayed the punishment of crime, in many cases absolutely defeated it, and have brought contempt upon the administration of justice.

There is an Alabama case which held that the omission of the letter "l" from the word "malice" in an indictment for assault with intent to murder rendered the indictment bad, and the conviction of a defendant under that indictment was set aside.

In another Alabama case it was held that an indictment charging that murder had been committed "with malice aforethou" did not allege "malice aforethought," and that the indictment was legally insufficient. The court noted in that case: "Great precision should be observed in matters which vitally affect the life and liberty of the citizen." In England the judge would simply have corrected the indictment with his pen and gone on with the case.

In another Alabama case a defendant was charged in the indictment with stealing a cow. The evidence proved him guilty of stealing a bull. In either event the defendant was guilty of grand larceny. The higher court, however, set aside the judgment of conviction.

In another case the defendant was charged with stealing eleven cow hides. The higher court said: "There was a total absence of evidence that the hides stolen were cow hides. Non constat, they were horse hides, or hides of some other animal than that of the cow kind." The sentence of the lower court in that case was set aside, although the evidence showed that the defendant in that case was guilty of grand larceny.

With us three-fourths of the criminal cases reversed are sent back to the lower

courts for new trials for mistake of form and not of substance. The decisions of the lower courts are reversed on technical points which have absolutely nothing to do with the guilt or innocence of the defendant.

#### PROGRAM OF NATIONAL CRIME COMMISSION

The great preponderance of the legislative bodies in every State in the Union is made up of lawyers. Now, if these lawyers were to create a new alignment of those who, on one side, were in favor of swift and sure justice for criminals and those on the other side, who would rather see additional fees for delaying the law go to the small percentage of the profession, thus pointing out to us exactly where each side stood, placing the blame for the unfortunate condition of affairs where it exists—then the legal profession would deserve and receive the thanks of all of us.

Out of these existing conditions was evolved the idea that a National Crime Commission, to be composed of public spirited men who would liberally give of their ability, time and money, could solve our crime problem. On this belief my program in organizing the National Crime Commission was drawn up somewhat as follows:

1. Gather and correctly tabulate crime statistics. The necessity for this is apparent. We must know where the crime exists before we can hope to eliminate or suppress it. In order to tabulate, classify and compare crime reports, we must standardize terminology, so that a crime of a specific kind when committed in one State is exactly the same when committed in another State. There are so many "degrees" of murder, larceny, assault, burglary that it is not possible to compare them until all States agree on definitions.

2. Secure an Act of Congress closing the mails to all firearms that can be concealed on the person and to the publications and catalogs advertising the same, also prohibiting their transportation in Interstate Commerce except for delivery to authorized forces. I believe that if all law-abiding citizens in the United States would agree that this be done and that if their ideas were made known to members of Congress, that they could overcome the lobbying activities of the three or four manufacturers of

firearms who have hitherto proved themselves able to prevent the rest of us from taking this important step toward our own protection.

3. We should have in America a National Criminal Record Information Bureau with the fingerprints of all criminals who have been in custody. There are now approximately 15,000,000 fingerprints in various bureaus. The police departments in all larger cities, in all penal institutions and penitentiaries have their own fingerprint bureaus, and when they exchange information with other bureaus, they do it from courtesy. In the State of New York alone, there are twenty-five such bureaus. Of course it is practically impossible for police authorities in one part of the State to have knowledge of all the fingerprints in all the bureaus or immediate access to them. As a result of this, it happens every day that a criminal is tried and convicted as a first offender, and receives a light sentence, while, as a matter of fact he has a criminal record in two or more penal institutions.

I want the National Crime Commission to exert its best efforts to have one fingerprint bureau created to serve all authorities. Obviously, out of 15,000,000 fingerprints, fully 5,000,000 are made obsolete by death. Probably 5,000,000 of the prints are duplicates. It is apparent, then, that there should be one central fingerprint bureau. Many criminals serving light sentences in some of our institutions are wanted for more serious crimes in other jurisdictions, and only by pooling all records will these facts be known to the authorities. This is a matter of the greatest importance which, to the present, has been entirely neglected in its broader sense. The lack of unity has made our hundreds of fingerprint systems ineffective. There should be one central fingerprint bureau. Crime statistics should be national.

4. From the most authoritative sources I am informed that the great majority of our crimes of violence are committed by foreign-born persons or the sons of foreign-born. Though I do not expect it will be possible to stop all crime among these people, I believe that if the Bureau of Immigration will order all immigrants to be fingerprinted upon their admittance to this country, and be given a card in their own language stating in effect that they will be deported upon conviction of a crime and if such a ruling becomes a part of the immigration policy of this country, and judges, in sentencing alien criminals, should recommend that they be deported at the expiration of their sentences, I am sure that crime among foreigners would be greatly less-

sened and the respect for our laws be correspondingly increased.

#### GENESIS OF COMMISSION

These were some of the things I had in mind when I went to Judge Elbert H. Gary and asked him to let me invite a dozen men to a conference in his office to meet Mr. Richard Washburn Child, our former Ambassador to Italy, who had just completed a nation-wide survey of crime and who had an amazing story to tell. He agreed, but made it clear that he would not be put in the position of sponsoring any movement when the conference was held.

Among those who accepted my invitation to this and the two subsequent meetings were: F. Trubee Davison, William B. Joyce, Chairman of the Board of the National Surety Company; Charles S. Whitman, former Governor of New York and Chairman of a special committee of the American Bar Association; George S. Silzer, Governor of New Jersey; Franklin D. Roosevelt, John W. Davis, former Ambassador to England; Alfred E. Smith, Governor of New York; George W. Wickersham, former Attorney General of the United States; Rayford W. Alley, William L. Saunders, Chairman of the Board of Ingersoll-Rand Company; William E. Knox, President American Bankers' Association; Albert Levitt, Professor of Law, Washington and Lee University; Dr. John H. Finley, former State Commissioner of Education; W. H. Pouch, President National Association of Credit Men; C. K. Woodbridge, President of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World; Burdette G. Lewis, Commissioner of Institutions, State of New Jersey.

Governor George Silzer of New Jersey told those present something of the way "Jersey Justice" is administered to criminals. Mr. Child told of his extended survey of crime in America, and Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York aroused great enthusiasm among us all by his proposal to create a crime commission in the State of New York, and pledged his greatest efforts to have New

York State write a model criminal code and demonstrate a model enforcement of it.

We have exhausted our patience waiting for relief from the politicians and lawyers in the various States and cities and the help that we should have has not been forthcoming. My hope therefore lies with the laymen—the business men of the country. The business men of America have accomplished great things by their foresight and ability and they have made the United States the leading commercial, industrial and financial country in the world. All the other countries have recognized this, and yet, with all this ability and all this power at our command, we have allowed gangs of robbers, thugs and murderers to hold all America in a grip of terror.

We have big business and we are proud of it. But at the same time we have big crime, and we are ashamed and mortified before other nations because of our big crime. We must reluctantly admit that with all our boasted ability in industry, commerce and finance, we have not been clever enough to outwit the criminals. On the contrary, the criminals have outwitted all America.

#### BUSINESS MEN ORGANIZING FOR RELENTLESS WAR

Why has crime increased in the United States? The reason is apparent, but one of the best answers has been given by Judge Talley, who said: "The principal cause of crime in this country is the pampering of the prisoners by sentimental reformers who fail to realize that at least two-thirds of the inmates of such prisons as Sing Sing are men who have adopted crime as a profession and who have served at least one term. \* \* \* The country is suffering from an indictment which proclaims it to be the most lawless country on earth." Judge Talley pointed out that movie and theatrical productions before they reach Broadway are shown the prisoners at Sing Sing; that they have an \$8,000 theatre; that they enjoy professional baseball games on Saturdays and Sun-



days and that they work on an average only three and a half hours a day, according to the report of the Prison Commission. Between January and June last year the prisoners spent \$56,000 for food purchased outside the prison, although the prison fare is bountiful, clean and healthful. Judge Talley added:

The demand of the hour in America, above all other countries, is for jurors with conscience, judges with courage, and prisons which are neither country clubs or health resorts.

And then he summed it all up by saying:

The crook has no fear of the law for two reasons:

1. He knows the average juryman is reluctant to convict on the evidence submitted.
2. He has a better home in Sing Sing than out of Sing Sing.

The Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman of Brooklyn has made the following statement:

"Sob sisters" and "sob brothers" are brides and bridegrooms of crime, for in lamenting the criminals they are the aids and abettors of crime. I would ask the sentimental sympathizers with willful criminals—especially murderers—to go weep in the cemeteries where the victims lie, instead of in jail. But all punishment is relative. No one likes capital punishment any more than he likes a surgical operation, but when, as in Chicago, six policemen die for every murderer hanged, the relativity needs some Einstein to adjust it. In Great Britain, where there is prompt and drastic punishment, crime is deterred, and they do not bury lawbreakers in silver coffins, either.

I have quoted these remarks from some of our big thinkers in America to show that the crime question is being seriously considered by judges, clergymen and business men in general. There is a strong general belief that we have failed in our effort to control crime mainly because of our lack of punishment of the criminals.

Another trouble today is that too many people are going into criminal reform to prove their own theories. What we are trying to do with this new organization of business men is to use the same business methods in suppressing crime that are used to advance legitimate business. I believe every one will welcome the organization of this commission. I have received letters from prominent men from all parts of the country endorsing the movement.

At a meeting held on Aug. 12 F. Trubee Davison, son of the late H. P. Davison, was elected Chairman. He accepted with the reservation that as his duties in the State Legislature, of which he is a member, would engross all of his time, he could serve but temporarily. Both Judge Gary and Mr. Child will give their counsel to the commission, though they will not be members of the Executive Committee.

We want to be in a position to say to those in authority—"What do you need?"—then sincerely endeavor to help them. The quickest way to do this is with the cooperation of business men, and for that reason I welcome the support of the business men of the country.



# Fallacies of Prohibition

By FABIAN FRANKLIN

Professor of Mathematics, Johns Hopkins University, 1879-1895;  
Editor, The Baltimore News, 1895-1908; Associate Editor, The  
New York Evening Post, 1909-1917

PROHIBITIONIST propaganda has rested and still rests to an extraordinary degree upon monstrous exaggeration of the evils wrought by alcoholic liquor and upon obstinate blindness to the possibility of grappling with those evils by reasonable and temperate methods. In the attempt to reconcile men to the tyranny of the prohibition law the benefits which it is alleged to confer are represented as of overwhelming magnitude and as being unattainable in any other way. This is not always done with the gross and blundering crudeness that characterized the article contributed to the August number of *CURRENT HISTORY* by Wayne B. Wheeler, the foremost representative of the Anti-Saloon League, but since misstatements and fallacious reasoning continue to cloud the issue, it is still necessary to examine some of the grounds upon which the contentions of the prohibitionists are based.

One of the economic gains credited to prohibition is that "home building has leaped from a monthly average of \$25,381,000 of new contracts awarded in twenty-seven States in 1918 to \$153,538,000 in 1924, with \$118,556,000 reported in twenty-seven States in the dull building month of February, 1925. But it is manifestly misleading to take the year 1918 as a basis of comparison, because war conditions caused a stagnation in building operations which brought about not only in the United States but in Europe a housing shortage so serious as to constitute one of the great problems of post-war adjustment. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the dollar in 1924, especially in the matter of house-building, meant very much less than the dollar in 1918. To show how abnormal the year 1918 was in the matter of building we have only to refer

to the United States Statistical Abstract of 1918, under the heading "Building Operations: Number of Permits and Costs of Buildings, by Principal Cities, Calendar Years 1912 to 1918." There we find the following totals, for all the chief cities of this country, in millions of dollars: 1912, 738; 1913, 673; 1914, 619; 1915, 700; 1916, 839; 1917, 583; 1918, 327. These figures, it is true, do not refer to home-building but to all kinds of building, and do not refer to the whole country but only to the principal cities; yet they presumably give some kind of indication of the degree of shortage in the building of homes in 1918. The figures show about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  times as much spent on building of all kinds in 1912 as in 1918. If we assume that this was true of home-building in particular, the figure of \$25,000,000 per month for 1918 gives \$56,000,000 per month for 1912; and as the cost of building in 1924 was doubtless more than double what it was in 1912, \$56,000,000 in 1912 would mean fully as much housing as \$120,000,000 meant in 1924. From this to \$153,000,000 there is no "leap" at all, especially when we remember the increase of population in the intervening twelve years.

If we are to consider the statistics of home-building, let us do so in sufficient detail. In the United States Statistical Abstract for 1923 the figures for residential building in twenty-seven Northeastern States are given upon the basis of the monthly statements published by the F. W. Dodge Company. These figures cover the years 1915 to 1923, inclusive. The monthly average given for the year 1918 is \$25,381,000, exactly as quoted to support the prohibitionist case, but it should also be noticed that for the two years immediately preceding America's entry into the World War the

monthly average was far greater than the \$25,000,000 cited for 1913. It was \$35,000,000 in 1915 and \$40,000,000 in 1916. Nor is this all. The amount of residential building is there indicated not only in dollars but also in square feet of floor space, thus giving an idea of the actual amount of housing provided as distinguished from the price of it in dollars. And these are the figures, in millions of square feet: 1915, 19.0; 1916, 18.2; 1917, 12.6; 1918, 8.7; 1919, 20.2; 1920, 11.5; 1921, 17.0; 1922, 25.9; 1923, 29.5. Thus we see that in the two pre-war years 1915-16 the average was 18.6; in the three years 1917-19 it decreased to 13.8; and in the four prohibition post-war years, 1920-24, it was 21.0—not much higher than in the pre-war years. Obviously the steady increase from the low point of 1920 to the high figure of 1923 was the natural result of forces set to work by the urgent need of housing and by the increase of general prosperity after the hard times of 1920-21.

#### THE COST OF CHARITY

Equally misleading is this statement about the expenditures of charity societies: "Pauperism is a by-product of the drinking habit. Charity societies expended over \$100,000,000 yearly in taking care of the victims of the saloon, their wives and families. Under prohibition these cases have decreased 74 per cent. for the nation at large, while in many cities they have fallen to 5 or less for every 100 formerly handled." The truth is that the cases in which "pauperism is a by-product of the drinking habit" have always formed only a moderate percentage of the whole number of cases, and that the total amount of expenditures for relief by the charitable societies of the country has always been far less than \$100,000,000 for all cases, and consequently incomparably less than \$100,000,000 for "the victims of the saloon, their wives and families."

It is safe to say that the total expenditure for relief has never reached so high a figure as \$20,000,000. The amounts

expended for relief in 1924 by the five great charity organizations of New York City—the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the Charity Organization Society, the United Hebrew Charities, the Catholic Charities and Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, aggregated \$1,329,000. As the population of New York is about one-tenth of the entire urban population of the United States, as the work of the charity societies is practically confined to the urban population, and as the scale of expenditure in New York is presumably higher than the average, it is reasonable to suppose that the total expenditure for relief by such societies throughout the country was not much more—indeed probably much less—than ten times the expenditure in New York; but for good measure let us call it fifteen times, and we still get less than \$20,000,000. In spite of the alleged 74 per cent. reduction of "the victims of the saloon," the relief expenditure of such societies in 1924 was far greater (in dollars) than in pre-prohibition years. Thus the figures in New York for the A. I. C. P. in the years 1910, 1915, 1918, 1924 respectively, were \$83,000, \$254,000, \$242,000, \$319,000; for the Charity Organization Society they were \$79,000, \$120,000, \$120,000, \$159,000; for the United Hebrew Charities they were \$259,000, \$245,000, \$278,000, \$475,000.

As to the proportion of the total expenditure of charity societies for relief which went to "victims of the saloon, their wives and families," the only figures I have bearing on this question are some sent by the Federal Prohibition Director some time ago in response to an inquiry on the subject. These refer to only four important cities, selected not by the inquirer but by the Federal Prohibition Director. The figures relate to the families receiving aid in 1916-17 from a leading charity society in Boston, Rochester, Chicago and New York; and they give the percentage of these families in which "drink was a factor" as 26 per cent., 13.4 per cent., 8.3 per cent., 19.2 per cent., in the four



cities, respectively. This indicates that in the country at large the percentage of charity-aided families in which "drink was a factor" was less than 20 per cent.; but if we grant that it was 20 per cent., and also use the excessively liberal estimate of \$20,000,000 for the total expenditure, we get \$4,000,000 as the utmost possible figure instead of the \$100,000,000 which we are asked to believe was expended by the charity societies upon "the victims of the saloon, their wives and families."

#### THE DEATH RATE FALLACY

The fact that the death rate in the United States has decreased in the last five years is also claimed as evidence for the success of prohibition. But the death rate has been decreasing for decades, and not only in the United States, but in modern civilized countries generally. The latest volume of "Mortality Statistics" issued by the United States Census Bureau, contains on Page 19 a table of death rates for various countries, and the figures there given for the "registration area" of the United States, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and for the Australian Commonwealth are as follows:

	1901-1905.	1906-1910.	1911-1915.	1920.	1921.	1922.
United States (reg. area).	16.2	15.1	13.9	13.1	11.6	11.8
Un. Kingd'm.	16.3	15.1	14.7	12.8	12.5	*
Australia ...	11.7	10.7	10.7	10.5	9.9	9.2

\* The 1922 figures for the United Kingdom are missing.

Between the United States figures and the United Kingdom figures there is an almost exact correspondence; and taking the United States figures by themselves, it is seen that the death rate was being reduced almost as rapidly before prohibition as after. The figures for Australia are, in a way, even more interesting, for we see that there—without prohibition—the death rate, although far below that of the United States to start with, was reduced in the same proportion as that of the United States registration area: The United States rate fell from 16.2 to 11.8, a decline of 3.4, or 21 per cent.; the Australian rate

from 11.7 to 9.2, a decline of 2.5, which is also 21 per cent.

Crime, like disease and death, we are told, must, in the absence of prohibition, be "inevitably increasing," while with prohibition it has decreased. The ink was hardly dry on Mr. Wheeler's article when there appeared in the newspapers two contrasting items of news which were sufficient of themselves to make his assertion ludicrous. In England Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Home Secretary, told the International Prison Congress of the enormous reduction that had taken place in the number of prisons and prisoners in that country; in our own country the long-standing feeling that crime was assuming more and more formidable dimensions came to a head in the organization of a National Crime Commission. The British newspapers, while recognizing that the amazing reduction in the number of prisoners was due in part to improved methods of prison policy and administration, heartily congratulated their country on the fact that there had been a most remarkable decrease in the actual number of crimes committed; the American newspapers, on the other hand, welcomed our proposed Crime Commission as a possible means of coping with a situation which imperatively demands extraordinary attention. The feeling is well-nigh universal that we are now in the midst of a crime situation of exceptional gravity; and, though criminal statistics in the United States are so imperfect that it is impossible to determine the degree in which that feeling is justified, yet it surely cannot represent the very opposite of the truth. But this is what we should have to believe if we are to accept Mr. Wheeler's statement that crime "has decreased since prohibition." As for the other half of his statement—the assertion that in the absence of prohibition crime must be "inevitably increasing"—the English statistics, which, for many decades, have been accurate, complete and trustworthy, prove this to be absolutely false.

# The Crisis in British Industry

By the Right Hon. SIDNEY WEBB

Member of the British House of Commons since 1922; President of the Board of Trade in the MacDonald Cabinet, 1924; a founder of the British Labor Party; author of many important works on economic and related subjects

THE momentous decision of Britain's Prime Minister on July 31, 1925, by which at the eleventh hour he averted a calamitous stoppage of practically the whole industrial life of the nation, sent a shudder through all thinking spectators of the great world drama. For the Government of a great empire to yield to the threat of "direct action" by coal owners and miners—to buy off, by a gift out of the public treasury running possibly into hundreds of millions of dollars, a mere quarrel between combined employers and unionized workmen—to purchase from the disputants, by such a precedent and at such a cost, merely ten months' breathing time, leaving any practicable solution of the difficulty still to be discovered—what are we to make of this new and astonishing development of British politics? Is it one more manifestation of that social and industrial decadence, which hardly any American visitor nowadays fails to have impressed upon him by the habitual British self-depreciation, reinforced by the shrewdly calculated wail of woe that is momentarily fashionable among British super-taxpayers and British employers? And what does it point to for the future?

It happens to be exactly a hundred years ago, to a month, that King George IV gave the royal assent to what the contemporary employers called "Peel's act." (See "History of Trade Unionism," by S. and B. Webb, p. 108.) This statute definitely legalized British trade unionism and authorized alike in employers and in wage earners the withholding of their services from the market by that concerted action which would otherwise have been a criminal

conspiracy against the public. But we need not, in order to understand the coal trouble, go so far back as this. It suffices to say that for a generation substantially all the thousand separate colliery enterprises and all the million coal miners have been united, nationwide, in jarring federal organizations, the employers in the Mining Association, the wage earners in the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. In 1912 Parliament conceded a statutory eight-hour day and a legal minimum for the competitive individual wage. During the war the industry was severely controlled, with substantial general assent. Output was directed, wages were prevented from rising, miners were restrained from leaving their employment, prices were regulated and the swollen profits were heavily taxed. After the armistice the wage earners claimed their long-delayed resettlement of working conditions, notably a reduction of the legally fixed working day; and as a means to the better conditions that increased economic efficiency would allow, the unification of the whole industry under public direction ("nationalization").

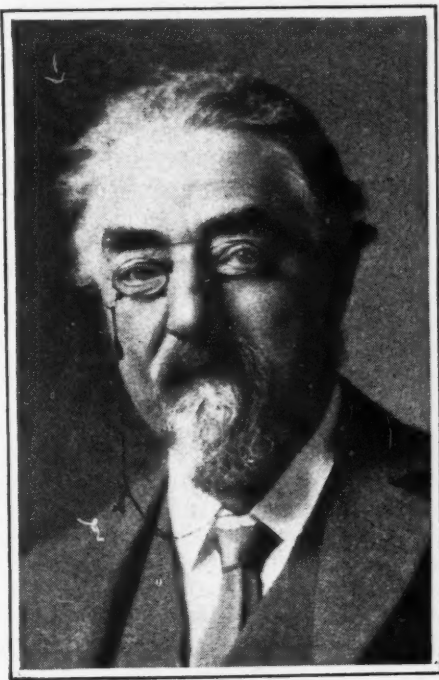
To avert a strike, the issue was referred in 1919 to a representative Royal Commission under Mr. Justice Sankey, in which the Miners' Federation agreed to participate, on the understanding—to which it is firmly believed by the men that both Mr. Lloyd George (the then Prime Minister) and Mr. Bonar Law (the then Chancellor of the Exchequer) explicitly pledged themselves—that the Government would ask Parliament to give legal effect to the findings of the commission. To the surprise of the coal owners, the commission of thirteen

members unanimously recommended the summary expropriation of all the royalty owners through the purchase by the State of the minerals in the ground; by ten against three the Commissioners recommended a compulsory unification of some sort, the statutory reduction of the working day by one hour, and a small addition to the wage rates; by nine against four they recommended that this unification should take the form of a complete nationalization of the mining industry by the State and the operation of the mines as a public service under a non-political joint board, for which the distinguished legal Chairman worked out in his own report a detailed scheme! The Conservative and Liberal capitalists who dominated the Parliament of 1918-22 were aghast at such a conclusion; and it is said that 300 signatures of M. P.'s were quickly obtained to a private ultimatum to Mr. Lloyd George flatly refusing to support any Government which, whatever its past pledges, should accept Mr. Justice Sankey's report. What was done was to pass into law in 1919 the seven-hour day, and to secure the wage concessions on which ten out of the thirteen Commissioners had agreed; but to leave untouched the private ownership and anarchic management of the thousand colliery companies and the four thousand royalty owners which the same majority had declared to be inconsistent with the most efficient conduct of the industry as a whole.

When the general slump came, in the Winter of 1920, the Government promptly "decontrolled" the industry—before the appointed time—and, with a final return to the coal owners of £7,000,000 out of the "excess profits" which it had appropriated, left coal owners and coal miners to settle wages for themselves. The result was a drastic cut in wages, and during 1921 a nation-wide dispute, in which for three months every pit stopped, to the enormous loss and suffering of all concerned, including every manufacturer and trader, the railways, the public treasury, millions of unemployed and

the private consumer. Owing largely to a failure of the other trade unions to transmute into action their very real sympathy with the miners, the coal owners were victorious. The Government refused to let the coal owners propose any repeal of the Seven Hours act. But the Mining Association was able to force on the Miners Federation a new "national agreement," under which the wage rates in each coal field were henceforth to be fixed from month to month (subject to an individual minimum regarded as a bare subsistence level), by a complicated arithmetical calculation, which, as it still, in substance, governs the industry, calls for a summary description.

The actual proceeds of the sales of coal for the whole of each coal field are ascertained from the books of the various collieries month by month by two public accountants representing respectively the coal owners and the wage earners. The actual working costs "other than wages" incurred at each col-



SIDNEY WEBB

One of the leaders of the British Labor movement

liery are similarly ascertained and the amount is deducted from the aggregate proceeds of sale for the coal field as a whole. The balance is deemed to be allocated, in the ratio (as amended in the supplementary agreement of June 18, 1924, after the finding of Lord Buckmaster's Committee) of 87 to 13, between wages and profits. The sum thus allotted for the wages of the whole coal field, divided among the various grades of workmen in certain customary proportions, and according to the number of shifts worked, gives the rate per shift for each time worker and (according to locally customary equivalents adjusted in each pit for each seam), also the rate per ton of coal gotten for each piece-worker. The rates thus mechanically ascertained become the actual wages paid throughout each coal field.

#### PROFITS NOT POOLED

It is important to notice that, although the proceeds of sales and "costs other than wages" are aggregated by the accountants for each coal field as a whole, this aggregation is exclusively for the purpose of the calculation of the wage-rates for the coal field. There is no actual pooling of the proceeds of sales; each colliery bears its own "costs other than wages" and retains all its own profits, and each colliery engages such men as it chooses. The only thing uniform throughout each coal field (with equivalent adjustments of piece-work rates, according to the circumstances of each working place) is the rate per man per shift. Thus the most advantageous pits, those best equipped and those most economically or most efficiently managed, retain for their own shareholders their exceptional profits. The miners' actual wage rates are thus compulsorily averaged in such a way that every wage earner in the entire coal field—without any participation in control, or even right of criticism—is automatically made to share in shouldering the burden of (1) the scanty output of the oldest and most nearly exhausted pits; (2) the extravagant running costs of the worst equipped and least efficiently

managed collieries; and (3) even the reckless or mistaken "cutting of prices," by which rival collieries compete against each other for export or inland markets, or long sightedly conquer positions for their future advantage. The thousand separate colliery undertakings, on the other hand, "average" nothing, and shoulder none of each other's burdens. Each produces as it chooses, sells as it chooses, incurs what costs other than wages it chooses, pays what salaries and directors' fees it chooses, executes what repairs it chooses, and even (up to the point at which it may provoke the accountants' objection) appropriates for "development," depreciation and reserves what it chooses to include in the revenue and expenditure accounts that it renders to the accountants; finally retaining for its own shareholders the whole of the profit that it individually has made. It is even perpetually tempted to negligence in getting the utmost production, and to extravagance in salaries, working expenses and minor improvements by feeling that of any such loss or outlay 87 per cent. will be automatically and unobtrusively recouped in lower wage rates, so that only one-eighth will fall on the shareholders. The gravest defect of the system seems to the million miners that its effect is practically to grade the wage rates common to the whole of each coal field down to the level that is compatible with the continued profit in the working of the worst lot of pits in that coal field. To put the case in the terms of the political economist, the national agreement secures none of the economies of combined administration, and even weakens the incentive to thrift, while it works out very nearly in a way to make the earnings of all the miners in each coal field depend on the net productiveness, not of the pits in which they are working, but of the pits at the very margin of cultivation.

These defects in the national agreement have become patent in industrial stress. During the present year there has come a decline in the coal trade,



the production and sales having fallen back to the average of twenty years ago. The peak year was 1913, when production was 289,000,000 tons, of which nearly 100,000,000 tons represented exports and ships' bunkers. Since the war the annual total has been commonly in the neighborhood of 260,000,000 tons. During the past few weeks it has been at the rate of about 235,000,000 tons. The reduction is mainly in the export sales, due to (1) general restriction of European industry; (2) increased competition of German and French coal; (3) increasing substitution in Italy, Switzerland and France of "white coal" (electricity generated by water power); in Germany of "brown coal" (lignite), and, especially in steamships, of internal combustion engines driven by oil; (4) increased freight charges through international dislocations—for instance, the continued exclusion of Russian exports from the world's trade doubles coal freights to the Mediterranean, and, as some say (5) also to the effect upon relative prices of Britain's recent return to a free gold market.

The result is that something like a fifth of all the British pits have ceased working and some 250,000 miners are unemployed and drawing more than a million dollars per week in State unemployment benefits. The Mining Association has been for many months in conference with the Miners' Federation, claiming (a) a great reduction in the ratio of net proceeds allotted to wages, which would work out as a reduction of the earnings of the coal hewer of ten or twelve shillings per week in some coalfields, down to a few shillings per week in others; or (b) in the alternative, a reversion to the eight-hour day with a smaller wage reduction; combined with (c) either the abolition of the subsistence (and legal) minimum below which the individual miner does not descend, or at least the charging of such subsistence minima to the total allocated to wages. It is to be noted that the Mining Association is the aggressor, the Miners' Federation standing merely on the defensive; that the Mining Asso-

ciation steadfastly refuses even to consider any measures of unification; that it refuses to admit to discussion any question of efficiency or economy of equipment or management; and that it insists on maintaining the existing scheme of the national agreement as the way of fixing wage rates, subject only to the changes that it demands.

The Miners' Federation has, equally steadfastly, refused to consider any reductions of wages or earnings or lengthening of the working day, asserting that the conditions are already such as to amount, for the mass of the miners, to something considerably below the pre-war conditions, and, what is more cogent, to what is today scarcely a "living wage." The federation asserts that it is altogether unfair that the miners should submit to such a further lowering of their already reduced standard of life merely because the anarchic individualism of the thousand separate colliery undertakings causes the huge profits of some to be accompanied by the losses of others. They contend that, taking the industry as a whole, coal mining is still yielding substantial profits and attracting a stream of new capital, additional pits being opened monthly; that these profits could be greatly increased by improved organization, by better machinery and more efficient management in the worst pits; and by the inclusion in the accounts of the "by-product" undertakings, which many of the colliery companies are now running for their exclusive profit; and that, as the coal owners are unable or unwilling to effect these improvements, the reasoned recommendations of Mr. Justice Sankey in 1919, for the nationalization of the industry, should be carried into effect.

It should be added that a Court of Enquiry, appointed on July 13, 1925, composed of a very distinguished Conservative lawyer (Mr. Macmillan), an equally distinguished economist and industrial administrator (Sir Josiah Stamp), and the official of a laborer's union (Mr. Sherwood), so far confirmed the miners' view as to report on July 28, 1925, against any reduction of

wages, or lengthening of hours, and to say that the remedy must be sought in increasing the efficiency of the industry.

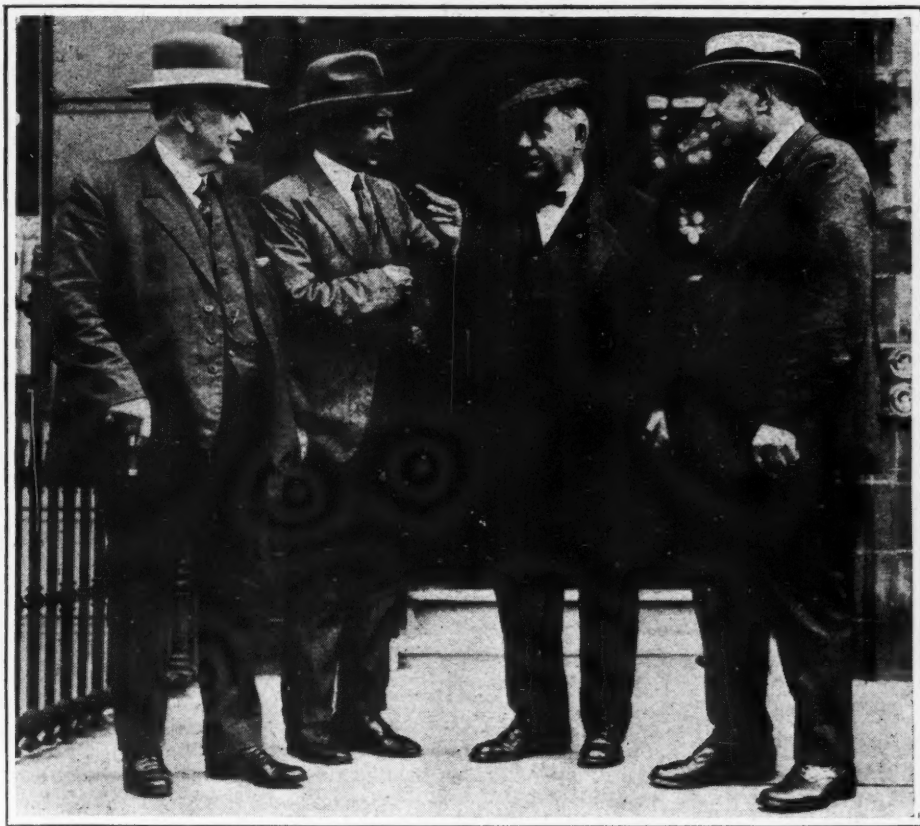
#### HOW THE DEADLOCK CAME

Upon that report came the deadlock to which the Prime Minister yielded on July 31. The Mining Association insisted on simultaneously terminating the engagements of their million employes on the Friday night. The Miners' Federation simply said they would accept the dismissal. There would then have been no production of coal. The railwaymen and port laborers announced their determination, with the support of the entire trade union movement, to refuse to "move coal" after the miners were dismissed. There would then have been no distribution even of the coal in stock. All day long on that Friday Mr. Baldwin wrestled with the representatives of the thousand colliery companies, failed to induce them to withdraw their notices to close what they regarded as their own mines! At last, at 3:45 P. M., he bought them off by agreeing to ask the House of Commons to vote the difference between the wage rates they proposed and those now in force; and to refer the issue—not of a reduction of wages or lengthening of hours, but of what could be done to increase the efficiency of the industry—to an impartial royal commission.

What are we to think of Mr. Baldwin's decision, which the House of Commons, almost with unanimity, presently endorsed? My own judgment is that, far from manifesting decadence, panic or cowardice, the British Prime Minister showed a courage and a clear-sightedness that were beyond all praise. What would have been a manifestation of decadence, and of failure to realize the facts of the situation would have been for him—as he was advised to do by a few Conservative newspapers and urged to do by a minority of his Cabinet (and as I suspect the President of the United States would have done) to let the national disaster occur, on the abstract argument that the Government had no concern with mere disputes between em-

ployers and employed and was not warranted in doing more than to maintain order. On that final day, before the Mining Association's notices to its million employes were to expire and the 3,000 pits were to close, there was no other way open to Mr. Baldwin than to find the money.

On the other hand, the British Government is to be blamed—as Lord Bryce once pointed out that the United States Government might be criticized in the critical years preceding the secession of the Southern States—for letting the situation develop to a deadlock before intervening. What we all now realize is that the Court of Enquiry set up on July 13, 1925—less than three weeks from the expiry of the notices—ought to have been set up months before. The Prime Minister ought then to have summoned both sides to discuss, in his presence, without pressure of time and in the light of the findings of the Court of Enquiry, the position created by the determined double combination of private interests, to which the community had seen fit to leave the conduct of an essential national industry. The assumption—still fondly held by people deeming themselves educated, in Great Britain as well as in the United States—that a Government which chooses to leave industry in private ownership has no responsibility for industrial disputes, is out of date. The first duty of a Government is to prevent civil war; and none the less so if the weapons of conflict are merely economic. As, in these days of nation-wide combinations, it must inevitably intervene somehow, in order to prevent a complete stoppage of the nation's life, it should intervene, whether one or both of the parties like it or not, before the armed forces are actually drawn up in battle array. The failure of the British Government to intervene in time was a manifestation not of decadence, but of slowness, and of a positive reluctance to recognize the new duties of Government. Our Ministers, like most of our capitalists, and many even of our economists, are still living in the past.



P. &amp; A. Photos

British Miners' Executive photographed in London. From left to right: T. Richards, A. J. Cook, Secretary; Herbert Smith and W. R. Richardson.

It is said by some that it was unpatriotic and wicked, and not even in their own interest, that the million miners did not simply accept the drastic reduction in wages on which the thousand colliery undertakings unitedly insisted. But why, ask even the present-day economists, should it be assumed that the wage earner ought to submit to the employer any more than the employer to the wage earner? To assume, merely because a combination of employers says so, that there is no way of continuing the industry except by a drastic cut at wages, is to fall into the fallacy of the "suppressed alternative." There may be other ways; past experience proves that there have been other ways; the Court of Enquiry itself has indi-

cated other ways. The obstinacy of a capitalist combination is no adequate answer.

It is unendurable, so others argue, that any sectional combination, whether of employers or of wage earners (or of a possible conspiracy between them) should be able in the pursuit of its own interests to hold up the national life. The answer is twofold. It is the business of the State so to organize its Government, even in social and economic matters, as to provide a timely solution of any such deadlocks, just as it does, in private litigation, by its courts of justice. But, finally, it is the duty of the Government—alike in its own Constitution, in the organization which it provides for the community's means of life,



in its legislation and in its executive action—to take account of the fact that it is itself not omnipotent and that democratic majorities cannot, any more than kings, be quite autocratic, even in their pursuit of the interests of the community as a whole. In the twentieth century, in the most civilized communities the doctrine of absolute sovereignty is seen to be as dead as John Austin or Chief Justice Marshall. Indeed, no such omnipotence ever existed. At all times Governments have had perforce to take account of puissances, named or unnamed, often undefined, impalpable by legal process, which silently but invincibly withstood their action, and brought to naught their most imperious edicts. For a thousand years popular customs and prejudices, churches, aristocracies and employers have thus evaded kings and legislatures! Now, as H. J. Laski (in "The Grammar of Politics," 1925), has lately said, we have to recognize and admit all authority as federal. Each section of the community, every minority, whether vocational, regional, racial or cultural, is as rightly sovereign—and often practically as dominant—within its own appropriate sphere, as the regal or majority Government is within its own appropriate sphere. The constitutional problem of the twentieth century is to define the several spheres, and to invent the most efficient machinery of mutual adjustments.

Now, the difficulty in the coal-mining industry, which the new Royal Commission has got to solve in the ensuing six months or so, is just a case of this need for a redefining of the spheres of actual authority, and for the invention of an improved machinery of mutual relations. It will, we may foresee, prove simply impracticable, whatever any royal commission might be tempted to recommend, to enforce any worsening of the wage-earners' position, either in earnings or hours. It may probably be equally impracticable to get, by raising the price of coal, a larger aggregate proceeds from sales. What is probable is that, if the worst fourth

of the three thousand pits were closed, some of them permanently, and the others in order to be summarily re-equipped with the best machinery, to be brought under the same superior management as the rest, and to be united for the purchase of supplies, and the marketing of their coal with the more successful concerns—this involves some measure of unification of direction and control and therefore, necessarily, under a supreme management responsible to Parliament—the industry could go on paying the labor costs, and "costs other than wages," without deficit. If, further, the whole of the colliery undertakings were included, so as no longer to leave outside the accounts the profitable by-product works attached to the up-to-date pits, there would certainly remain a substantial profit to be divided among the aggregate of owners.

#### CONFISCATION UNNECESSARY

All this could be done without confiscation of any present property, or "robbing Peter to pay Paul," by a mere recapitalization of the new aggregate—as in 1922 was actually done when all the various stocks and shares of the couple of hundred British railway companies were compulsorily merged in the new stock. Finally, the long-delayed system of pit committees and joint management boards may at last secure that intelligent cooperation of all grades and sections of the workers, and that gradual upbuilding of mutual confidence and good will without which no industry (and be it added no Government) can nowadays attain its highest efficiency.

How backward at this task are our constitutional advisers and statesmen, and how seriously our politicians have so far failed to appreciate this new aspect of public administration, is to some extent reflected in the "queerness" of Great Britain's financial and commercial position. The outstanding feature of Britain today is the extraordinarily bad mutual arrangement of its several parts and separate functions. Never before has the contrast been so striking

between national wealth and sectional want. The total national income and expenditure (which in currency values is, of course, enormously greater than ever before) is computed to be, in quantity, if measured at pre-war prices, just about what it was in 1913. But less of it is perhaps going in wages and salaries, in the profits of the working partners, and even in the dividends on the ordinary shares or common stock of companies and corporations; while a greatly increased share is going to the rentiers of one or other sort—the debenture and bond holders, the rent and royalties receivers, the mortgagees and rent chargers, and last but not least, the recipients of interest on the swollen national municipal debts which is collected in rates and taxes.

#### THE ECONOMIC PARADOX

This exaggeration of the "prior charges" on industry, which is so prominent a result of the great war—and not Britain's recent return to relative freedom for gold shipments—is, in my judgment, the explanation of our economic paradoxes, and of the grievances and discontents to which they give rise. Since the highest level of 1920 the aggregate wages bill of the nation, in spite of an aggregate of wealth production equal to that of 1913, has fallen by at least sixty million dollars per week; and there are hardly any sections of wage-earners who can today buy quite as full a dinner-pail as they could in 1913; while, for the most part, real wages are reckoned to have fallen by 25 per cent. What is worse is that Great Britain has today about one-eighth of its wage-earners unemployed; or a slightly higher percentage than in 1908-1909 and 1886, though probably a lower percentage than in 1879 or 1841.

This is serious; but at least we can say that so effective is the provision made for them in one way and another that the steadily falling sickness rate, the declining death rate, the highly significant fall in the infantile mortality rate, the reduced percentage of children found hungry at school, and all the

visible signs, unite to indicate that the condition of the people is not worse than it was in 1913, but much better. It is true, too, that our exports of goods (which represent, however, only about one-third of our national production), though much higher in sterling value, are in volume, measured at pre-war prices, only 75 to 80 per cent. of our exports in our "peak year" of prosperity, 1913; they are, indeed, about what they were a couple of decades ago.

On the other hand we are not losing ground to our foreign rivals. Our exports represent just about as large a percentage of the total export trade of the world as they did before the war. And our aggregate overseas trade (in which the imports are, of course, as useful as the exports), which is vastly larger than ever before in terms of sterling values, has recovered (if measured in pre-war prices), to just about the volume of that same "peak year" 1913. This hardly looks like decadence! In fact the Chancellor of the Exchequer knows from his income tax returns, what the published accounts of joint stock companies partially reveal, that there is, in the aggregate, actually more profit being made in Great Britain, amid all the employers' wails of woe, than in the best years before the war. We can even compute, from the valuations of the estates passing by death, that the aggregate wealth of Great Britain is already greater than it was in pre-war times. Even the coal-mining industry, which the Mining Association believes cannot be continued without a disastrous reduction of wages, made positively a larger aggregate profit in 1924 than it did in 1913, and in 1923 twice as much as it did in 1913, and so profitable are the best collieries that, even in this year of slump, millions of pounds of fresh capital are, during these very months, being voluntarily sunk in new pits and additional working. I, for one, absolutely disbelieve in the economic or industrial collapse, or even decadence, of Great Britain. What we need is readjustment!

# The Liberal Trend in French Politics

By LOUISE WEISS  
Editor, *L'Europe Nouvelle*, Paris

WHAT is, just now, the political psychology of France, located, in point of time, between a period of demobilization of men and things that has almost drawn to a close, and a period of financial restoration that has just begun, and, in point of space, between an England that realizes more and more clearly every day that she is but the foremost of the Dominions of His Britannic Majesty's far-flung empire, and a Germany whose balance-sheet is now drawn up in gold marks and that has chosen von Hindenburg as President of the Reich? The votes of demobilized France were cast under the influence of intense patriotic feeling and of disgust with the paltry politics upon which judgment had been passed the day when Clémenceau roared: "I am making war." An ill-defined longing for reform and hatred of Bolshevism stirred the public mind.

As for the hostility toward Bolshevism, between which and anarchy no distinction was made by those who discussed it, except by Socialists sufficiently conversant with the Marxist theories, it would as likely as not have led to certain dangerous movements, had Poincaré not been there to prevent them. If France has not had to endure a Mussolini, in spite of the outcry for dictatorship raised by certain extremists and the love for an absolute ruler cherished by many Frenchmen, this was because Poincaré, whose loyalty to the Republic none could question, was firm enough to satisfy those who felt obscurely—and their name was legion—that hostilities had not yet come to an end. It was not possible instantly to transform into a hive of industry a nation that was armed

to the teeth and that had overcome the most terrible sufferings only by unexampled military fervor. Victory and the memories of victory were fondly cherished. Conciliatory tendencies were regarded as insufferable. The French people clung desperately to the belief that reparations would be forthcoming from Germany, and any settlement that involved the whittling down of French claims appeared monstrous. Briand fell at Cannes in January, 1922, because he attempted to accept a pact of guarantees that implied certain renunciations on the part of France. Poincaré himself was not able until two years later to put through the Dawes plan, after having settled neither the question of debts nor the problem of security. He had, however, at least averted at home some experiment along Communo-Fascist lines, the danger of which appeared much more serious in the light of after-events.

Meanwhile, although for four years many foreign issues remained unsolved, a number of changes deeply affecting social conditions took place at home.

Let it suffice to recall certain features of the school curricula which gave an aristocratic appearance to the teaching imparted in the State schools, and which were abolished as soon as the Cartel des Gauches (the group of Left parties) came into office; the attempted establishment of unions of intellectual workers, grouping the liberal professions, so hard hit by the high cost of living; the laxity in enforcing the secularization laws—the Government ignored the unlawful return to France of the religious associations—which led to the widespread anticlerical reaction, whereby Herriot was driven, whether he liked

it or not, to discontinue the French Embassy at the Vatican. Then again the power of the employers' associations increased considerably. The war had made people realize the ability of State organizations to regulate supply and demand, but the National Bloc (the group of Right parties) set its face against this budding State Socialism. Nevertheless, large organizations of the capitalists had taken the lesson to heart and themselves adopted the industrial methods of a mobilized State. The Union des Intérêts Economiques (Union of Economic Interests) had at its disposal one of the largest electoral funds France has ever known.

It was a period of high wages. The devastated regions had to be restored, and that promptly. Thousands of new houses sprang up. Whole villages, frequently through American generosity, showed new roofs in the sunlight. Mines, sugar refineries, cotton-mills and power stations brought prosperity back to the desert-like "no man's land" lying between the trenches. The war factories worked at full pressure to prepare for war. Moreover, as the result of the Peace Treaty, the German market was free. Employment was available even for foreign labor. Polish villages grew up in the Pas-de-Calais and in the iron and steel centres of the Massif Central. Italians swarmed into the country districts of the South and the Southeast. The French workingman, in receipt of good wages, lived in plenty, with the eight-hour law everywhere in force. He lost much of his interest in the Confédération Générale du Travail (General Labor Federation), the number of whose paying members fell by about a million, and which ultimately split up into two federations on the issue of Bolshevism. The Socialist Party also passed through a crisis. The Socialist Congress at Tours in 1920 definitely marked the split between the Socialists who remained loyal to the Amsterdam International and the Communists who adhered to the Third International. The Communists carried off the party newspaper *L'Humanité*, but the brains of the

party and its ablest leaders—Léon Blum, Boncour, and Renaudel—remained in the Second International.

#### THE SOCIALIST SPLIT

The split in the Socialist Party accounts for one of the most curious aspects of French politics in 1925. No longer able to voice their views in *L'Humanité*, and their own newspaper, *Le Populaire*, not having proved a success, the Socialists cast about for other publications to which to contribute—a staff ready to hand for newspapers of the Left. They sought to recruit new adherents, either among the Right wing of the Communist masses or among the Left wing of the Radicals. With an election approaching, an alliance with the Radical-Socialists and the Republican-Socialists struck them as the only means of insuring their survival. It was accepted by the non-Socialists—ill-defined opponents of the National Bloc—and thus was constituted the Cartel des Gauches (the group of Left parties), which in the opinion of its leaders was



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intended to last only until victory was achieved. The alliance was based, indeed, upon a contradiction which is still highly disadvantageous to the Painlevé Ministry. Though working with the Radicals, the Socialists remained as "anti-bourgeois" as ever, and the Radicals, though ready to receive this support from the Left, were none the less representative of the classes to which the French "man in the street" is supposed to belong.

At the same time the peasants were thriving. The small landowner paid off his mortgage. The farmer and the tenant-farmer bought their holdings. Inflation, progressing slowly but surely, found them enthroned upon sacks of corn and beets, worth their weight in gold, their pocket-books stuffed with banknotes, Government loan certificates and Treasury bonds, investments presenting no industrial risk and paying good interest.

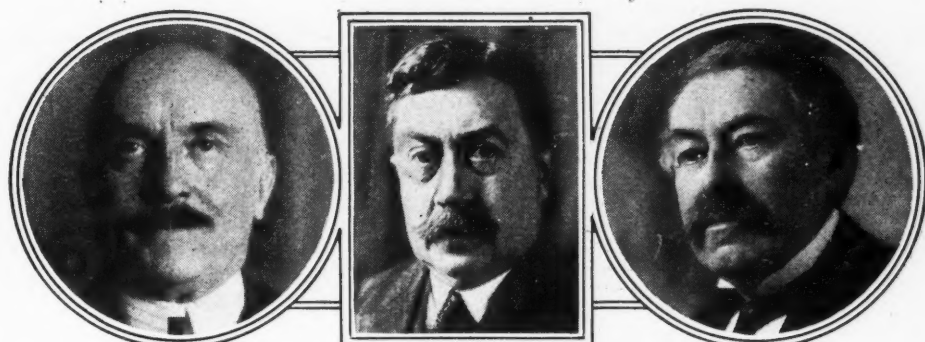
Three weeks before the election Poincaré courageously imposed an all-round increase of taxation. This his opponents of the Left promised to reduce. The peasantry voted for the Left lest things might become bad, while the Government officials, who were already badly off, likewise voted Left in the hope of things improving. Furthermore, in 1924, the work of reconstruction was drawing to a close in the devastated regions. Overproduction and diminished purchasing capacity weighed upon the home market. The commercial clauses of the Peace Treaty relating to the French export trade to Germany were due to terminate on Jan. 10, 1925. It was becoming impossible any longer to be protectionists at home and to compel the foreigner to admit French goods duty free. Many firms whose interests were bound up with the export trade thought they might benefit considerably from an improvement in international relations. Various influential politicians began to contemplate a loan, guaranteed by the powers, for the purpose of setting Germany on her feet. The economic interdependence of the nations was realized more clearly. Great Britain

was suffering from unemployment; Germany was tumbling to pieces, Austria was ruined, Russia in distress. France's late adversaries, and even her allies, made the Treaty of Versailles responsible for the undeniable misfortunes that had befallen France and urged that the collection of the debts owing to her conflicted with the interests of Europe. They made it one of the objects of their foreign policy to induce France no longer to insist upon the letter of the treaty.

#### THE VICTORY OF THE LEFT

Such were the circumstances in which the electoral campaign opened in the Spring of 1924. On May 11 the triumph of the parties of the Left was overwhelming. Entire tickets were elected by an absolute majority of votes, thus bringing into Parliament candidates recruited haphazardly by leaders who fully expected them to be "left at the post." By reason of this almost unbelievable success, which ushered into political life men devoid of experience and who had not yet brought criticism to bear upon the tenets of democracy, there was witnessed a strange phenomenon, especially rare in a French Chamber: the growth of a quasi-religious party loyalty which was called "mystique." This became the most powerful political influence in the country, with Herriot and the Radical-Socialists, Loucheur and his group, Aristide Briand and his henchmen, Painlevé and his supporters, Léon Blum and his Socialist following, as well as many leading members of the Senate such as Maurice Sarraut, Clémentel and François Albert.

The Left resolved to depose Millerand, who had overplayed his part as President by deciding upon the ill-starred expedition sent to the assistance of Wrangel, by encouraging the Clericals and by delivering a speech at Evreux in which he made no secret of his determination to act in his capacity as the supreme head of the State to bring about the triumph of the National Bloc. He was obliged to resign. Since then he has been elected a Senator from the



LEADERS OF FRANCE'S LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

From left to right: Joseph Callaux, Finance Minister; Paul Painlevé, Prime Minister; Aristide Briand, Foreign Minister

Seine and as head of the National Republican League is again leader of the opposition. Doumergue was elected President with the support of the Right against Painlevé, to whom the success of the left was mainly due.

Herriot as the head of the new Ministry inherited a heavy burden: problems of reparations, security, a commercial treaty with Germany, interallied debts; while the uncertain international temper displayed toward France was not likely to be easily mollified.

In the matter of reparations, the Herriot Government agreed to the Dawes plan. France certainly did not come off scot-free, but had not Poincaré himself accepted the principles of that plan? The Ruhr was evacuated without being made, as was expected, the subject of bargaining. It was a great step forward that the vexed question of reparations, with all the tiresome wrangling it involved over the percentages to be allotted to all and sundry out of payments that Germany took care not to make, had been lifted out of the sphere of politics to be henceforth a mere matter of bookkeeping and routine. There was a general unbending in international relations. France had smiled.

#### PROBLEM OF SECURITY

The problem of security, which it had not been possible to deal with in London, in August, 1924, was brought up at Geneva, before the League of Nations.

Briand, as head of the French delegation, conducted the negotiations which led to the drafting of the protocol. France, with her following of smaller nations, was delighted to find that the ideal of the League, so maligned under the National Bloc, had now become dear to her, and she sought to define the conditions of a world-wide peace, insufficiently specified in the covenant of the League. She adopted the formula propagated by a few American citizens, that the aggressor is he who refuses to submit his case to arbitration. She insisted on arbitration being made compulsory and universal, and on undertakings of mutual assistance that would permit at last of real disarmament.

France readily signed the protocol, but Great Britain, with Baldwin as Prime Minister instead of MacDonald, did not, although it had been agreed to in September by Lord Parmoor on behalf of the British delegation. France, while abiding by the spirit of Geneva, realized that her neighbors might perhaps agree some day to guarantee definitely a frontier on the Rhine, but never a frontier on the Vistula, and that it was necessary to ask for something other than a guarantee of assistance in case of a threat against the Polish frontiers. Thereupon Germany, in February, 1925, again took a hand in the game of diplomacy, and made overtures with a view to a Rhenish Pact of security. To

this the French official reply has been, "Come into the League of Nations."

The negotiation of a commercial agreement with Germany made little, if any, progress. The leading French and German employers, who acted as experts for their respective delegations, found no common ground either for a broad general agreement, or even for private arrangements. Germany, with her goods selling for gold marks, was in no hurry to come to terms, while France, still a cheap producer, was glutted by the output of Alsace-Lorraine. As for the French ironmasters, they do not easily depart from their protectionist habits, which lead their competitors to retaliate with high tariffs. At any rate, the attempt to frame a commercial agreement was postponed till Sept. 15.

Turning to the sphere of domestic politics we find nothing more typical of the latent passions of the average French village than the incidents that marked the resumption by Briand and the breaking off by Herriot of diplomatic relations with the Holy See, as well as the compromise reached by Painlevé on the basis of the status quo. After the war there had arisen a number of questions affecting the French clergy—the protection of the traditional rights of the French clergy in the East; the assimilation of the régime obtaining in Alsace-Lorraine with that obtaining since 1905 in the rest of France, where Church and State were separate entities; the establishment on a legal basis of the temporal patrimony of the Church, with the help of the Diocesan Associations provided for by law, and the maintenance or amendment of the status of religious orders. Briand, a confirmed anti-clerical, and one who had played a decisive part in the enactment of the secularization laws, had re-established the French Embassy to the Vatican immediately after the war. The parties of the Left, however, made the suppression of the embassy one of their articles of faith, to the great delight of the army of veteran anti-clericals who for the past twenty years had been descanting upon the evil ways of the clergy in provincial cafés.

After the victory of May 1 it became necessary to carry out the promised measures. Not without considerable hesitation did Herriot decide to stake the fate of his Cabinet on the Vatican question. He saw clearly enough that the embassy served a useful purpose and he knew he would rouse much animosity in Alsace. His technical advisers at the Foreign Ministry pointed out to him that between the French Bishops and the Roman Cardinals there was a certain antagonism, which was not unwelcome to the republic, and that the one and only way of securing the peaceful submission of the Roman Catholics to the secularization laws was to negotiate with the Pope as to the methods of applying those laws. Herriot, however, felt sure of his radical and socialist majority, however much some of the younger members might look with disdain upon such old controversies.

#### HERRIOT'S MISTAKE

Herriot, a man of university training, was prone to make little distinction, if any, between Gallicans and Ultramontanes. His attitude was that of a pupil of the undenominational schools rather than that of a successor of the Kings of France and of Napoleon. "Poor man!" was Briand's ironical comment, "he does not realize that he cannot afford to indulge in the luxury of an anti-clerical policy." Sure enough, the flames of passion soon mounted high. Whereas the religious question a year before remained in the political background, now it came forth to stir up for three months the most furious quarrels in the Palais-Bourbon. The Archbishops inveighed in terms of unprecedented arrogance against the alliance of Left parties and against republican institutions, and most important—Catholic banking circles showed complete unwillingness to help the Government in its efforts to put the finances of the country on a sound basis.

After growing steadily worse during the earlier months of 1925, the financial situation finally led to a Ministerial crisis. Although the budget was practi-



cally balanced the falling due of domestic and foreign loans raised for war purposes, the reconstruction of the devastated areas and the sums required for pensions were a heavy drain on the Treasury. During the year 1925 alone, should the bondholders apply for repayment, the Treasury might have to pay out 80,000,000,000 francs. Despite its declarations that it would not resort to inflation, as a matter of fact the Government did have recourse to the printing press, hoping to be able to withdraw from circulation the notes in excess of the legal limit as soon as existing difficulties were overcome. In fairness it should be stated that the previous Government had resorted to the same devices, but it had been fortunate enough, or sufficiently strong, to call in the extra notes. Herriot, whose leanings gave the wealthier bourgeois no little concern, was swept off his feet. The Bank of France, tired of procrastination, refused to hide the truth any longer and Herriot was obliged to inform Parliament that the paper money in circulation exceeded the legal limit by 3,150,000,000 francs. A few days before these final explanations Etienne Clémentel, Minister of Finance, whose want of foresight involved the whole Cabinet, had resigned and Herriot had appointed as his successor Anatole de Monzie, a strong advocate of French representation at the Vatican, who ultimately was largely influential in the embassy there being preserved.

At Easter the Senate, exasperated by the policy of leaning on the Socialists, without whose support there could be no majority, and who for that reason were the actual though irresponsible rulers, cast a majority of votes against Herriot. Though doubtful of success, President Doumergue resolved to try to bring about the formation of a Cabinet that would split up both the majority and the minority and unite the Left wing of the latter and the Right wing of the former in a "concentration of the parties of the Left." Briand was accordingly invited to head a new Ministry, but he was more concerned with trying to force the

Socialists to assume responsibility than with success in forming a Cabinet. Unanimously and without debate the National Council of the party decided on April 21 neither to participate with nor to support Briand, who thereupon dropped his attempt to form a Cabinet. President Doumergue, seconded at the time in the Senate by a man who for some time past has played a momentous part in French politics, Maurice Sarraut, urged Painlevé to take office as Prime Minister. This amounted to recognizing that the situation was not ripe for any other combination than one still based upon the alliance of the Left parties. The Socialists could hardly refuse, if not to cooperate with Painlevé, at least to support him. Painlevé appointed Briand to the Foreign Ministry and, with a boldness that astounded his friends, invited Caillaux to take charge of the Treasury.

#### CAILLAUX'S RETURN

Various circumstances brought about the amazing return to power of Joseph Caillaux, the defeatist of 1917. In the first place, his appointment was surely a gesture of sympathy on the part of Painlevé, who had himself been reviled and loaded with abuse on account of the unsuccessful offensive of April 17, 1917, when he was Prime Minister. Painlevé must have felt that Caillaux had paid a very heavy price for adopting a standpoint that was regarded as criminal chiefly because it was opposed to the deep-lying instinct of the country. Then Caillaux had won golden opinions among experts for his knowledge of finance. For those of the Left his name stood for the income tax. Before the war it was to him that the success of that levy, so hated by the Right, was due; and his radical convictions could not be doubted by those who remembered his previous term of office. The income tax, which in days gone by was an extremist measure in the opinion of the supporters of the Right, was now considered by them to be a lesser evil than the capital levy with which they

were threatened as the result of the Treasury deficit.

The Painlevé-Briand-Caillaux Ministry, during the short time it has been in existence, has already arrived at important conclusions. First, it has decided to defend resolutely the French colonists and loyal tribes in Morocco against the attacks of Abd-el-Krim. The French and the Spaniards have come to an understanding as a result of the recent conference at Madrid in regard to the conduct of the defensive war against Abd-el-Krim, and the peace terms to be held out to the rebels of the Riff. The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate unanimously, with the exception of the Communists, have warmly approved of the attitude of the Government. Such is Painlevé's personal task.

At the same time it has been necessary to continue the work of improving the financial situation. It seems that the plan contemplated by Caillaux involves four stages:

1. A rigorous balancing of the budget, all expenses being calculated on the basis of and covered by the receipts from taxes, old and new, but only by taxation.

2. The definite consolidation of the floating debt. As is well known, the financial policy of France had become extremely difficult on account of the enormous circulation of short-term securities, of which a considerable number fall due this year. The holders of the securities flocked to the Treasury to demand their repayment and would not listen to any proposal for their renewal. The project of a loan bearing moderate interest, which would be guaranteed against the risk of the devaluation of the franc, was then conceived. This loan, open from July 20 to Sept. 5, could be subscribed for only by the holders of securities, and the Government on its side undertook, after the loan was

closed, not to issue any new bonds. Thus France would be able to know at last and quite definitely the total of her floating debt and the resultant charges.

3. The settlement of the interallied debts. The Government wants to settle the payment of its debts to Great Britain and the United States. A mission will leave shortly for London and America with this object in view.

4. There remains the problem of the arrears on the permanent debt. These arrears bear heavily on the annual expenditures, but once certainty has been established in regard to the balancing of the budget the total amount of the floating debt and the payment of the external debts, the problem of the rentes (French Government bonds) will certainly be dealt with in the most serious spirit. Such is Caillaux's particular task.

As to the duties that devolve upon Briand, they are concerned above all with the formulation of a security pact. Briand agreed with Mr. Chamberlain on a joint reply to Germany, who in her latest note did not show herself ready to join the League of Nations unless the Versailles Treaty were revised. Such were the circumstances in which the General Assembly of the League opened on Sept. 7.

These, then, have been the main lines of French post-war politics. Religious animosities have died down. France, after being shaken by the crises which have been already analyzed, was once more self-composed and ready to follow at the cost of the heaviest sacrifices those who would devote themselves to giving her those things of which she needed to feel certain, viz.: an international guarantee of her security on the Rhine, the preservation of her African empire and financial stability. At the same time her low birthrate no longer caused her any anxiety.

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The Brandenburger Tor

# Berlin Under Empire and Republic

By HANS G. L. DELBRUECK

Professor of Modern History, University of Berlin; author of "Krieg und Politik," "Bismarck's Erbe," "Ludendorff, Tirpitz, Falkenhayn," and many other historical works

**B**ERLIN, the capital of Germany, is, without doubt, the most modern city of all the European capitals. Its only rival was St. Petersburg. With its wide streets and modern buildings, it lacks the historical interest centring around narrow, crooked streets and old architecture, to be found in other capitals on the Continent. The old walls of the Berlin of the thirteenth century have disappeared as well as the fortifications of a later period. A few churches, dating from the early years of the eighteenth century, are the only monuments of the city that was.

The history of the beginnings of the city has considerable interest. The settlements of the original Wends, a Slavic people, were evidently taken possession of by German colonists toward the close of the twelfth century, and the name

"Berlin" appears for the first time in documents of 1244. It is evidently of Wendish origin, and there are no grounds for believing that the name has any connection with "Baer," the German word for "bear," which is the emblem used on the city arms. A remnant of these Wendish colonists is still to be found in the Spreewald, a swampy tract southeast of Berlin, where they still adhere to their original language, customs and picturesque costumes.

Berlin was a double town when it first appears on the historical horizon,

Professor Delbrück, one of the great military historians of the world today, was born in Germany in 1848. He was appointed to his chair at the University of Berlin in 1885, and has made the German capital his home for many years. Professor Delbrück was one of the three experts consulted by the Reichstag commission which, after five years' study, recently presented a report on the causes of Germany's military collapse in 1918.

the sister city being called Koelln, which is mentioned in documents seven years before the name of Berlin appears. Koelln is also a Wendish word, meaning hill or slightly elevated piece of ground. The fourteenth century was still in its teens when Berlin and Koelln formed an alliance for mutual protection. It was due to this prudent policy that both towns withstood the vicissitudes of the troublesome periods to follow. The alliance aided them in raising themselves to positions of importance in the Mark.

The Hohenzollern family became masters of the Mark in 1412, and, for a little more than four centuries, had a great influence on its development. They prevented Berlin-Koelln from becoming the head of a confederation of the towns of the Mark, which position it enjoyed in dealing with the Hanseatic League. The inhabitants vigorously opposed the sovereignty of Frederick "With the Iron Tooth" when he proclaimed himself their ruler in 1440, and it was many years before they were effectively conquered. As a punishment the towns were deprived of special privileges and a fortified castle was erected to keep the revolutionary tendencies of the citizens in check.

The fortifications of the city were constructed under Friedrich Wilhelm, the Great Elector, who reigned from 1640 to 1688. He was the founder of the modern Prussian State and to him Berlin is largely indebted for its modern importance. Dutch architects were employed to design the walls and towers, which were of generous proportions and practically impregnable under the system of warfare of the period. Dutch architects were employed to design public buildings and to beautify the town. Unfortunately only a few fragments of this period are extant; "Unter den Linden" still remains, however, as a lasting memorial to the ideals and plans of this ruler.

King Friedrich Wilhelm I, whose reign extended from 1713 to 1740, condemned the fortifications as obsolete and ordered their destruction. He also incorporated several of the suburbs into

the city proper. New buildings were constructed in great numbers, but along such severe economic lines that they were very insignificant in appearance. They have long since been razed to make room for more beautiful and more characteristic edifices.

Frederick the Great had far different ideas of architecture from his predecessor and he carried out a building program which was not hampered by economy. He personally checked all plans and made changes when the appearance did not conform to his standard of beauty. In 1743 the opera house was begun, its classical lines contrasting strangely with the rather shoddy buildings erected during the previous reign. The Palace of Prince Henry, which is now the Berlin University; the Church of St. Hedwig, the Library and the Domed Towers of the Gendarmen-Markt are the principal edifices of this period—and they are still regarded as excellent examples of the builder's art.

Frederick the Great gave several hundred building sites to citizens, but insisted that all structures, no matter how plain, must present a palatial façade toward the street. This building program was carried out despite the fact that during the Seven Years' War the city was occupied twice by foreign troops.

Friedrich Wilhelm II devoted himself to art rather than to the development of a powerful State. Fewer buildings were erected during his reign, but a number of monuments sprang up. During his reign the Brandenburger Tor, or Brandenburg Gate, was erected, its classical columns supporting the Quadriga of Victory, in copper.

The Napoleonic disasters checked the growth and progress of the city temporarily. But immediately after the French had evacuated Berlin in 1808, art, science and commerce began to flourish as never before. A number of the buildings now standing along Unter den Linden, the Lust-Garten and the Wilhelmstrasse, date from this period. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, the most distinguished architect of the period, greatly influenced the building program, "build-





Burton Holmes from Ewing Galloway

## Unter den Linden

ing as the ancient Greeks would have built."

Very few cities have had so few political handicaps during the periods of their greatest development as Berlin. Having been under the rule of one family for four centuries, there has been more or less of a fundamental idea of development. Though one ruler may have favored too rapid development at the expense of thoroughness, the next invariably leaned toward the promotion of the artistic. The change in the form of Government from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional one, with the ruler limited in power, was such a gradual development that commerce, trade and the arts did not suffer during the transition.

## FINE RESIDENTIAL SECTIONS

It was during the latter part of the nineteenth century that building in the western part of the city began in earnest, resulting in one of the finest residential sections of any city in the world. Berlin's dwellings are of practically uni-

form height, rarely exceeding five stories; the apartments are roomy and comfortable, with high ceilings and well-lighted rooms. The uniformity in construction and materials used—bricks coated with cement—gives the city a rather drab appearance, unlike an American city, where bright colors are more in evidence. To some extent the monotony of this uniformity is relieved by tastefully-arranged balcony gardens and by rows of trees, with which practically every street is supplied. Berlin boasts of having more trees than any other city in Europe and is entitled to her claim.

Berlin suffers in picturesqueness on account of the dead level of its site. The River Spree winds through the city from the southeast to the northwest, but it has no claims to beauty despite its graceful curves. The banks are methodically and stolidly walled in and the waters are black with refuse from the factories of the East End. A system of canals through the southern and northern sections does much to relieve the tediousness of straight streets and adds

much to the appearance of the city, because of the artistic bridges.

As is characteristic of London, Paris and other great cities, the aristocratic classes of Berlin live in the west and the factory workers in the east end. In the southeast one finds the more skilled artisans and here large apartment houses are displacing the shops and factories. The north is purely a factory section. In the west, the Grönewald has been transformed into a charming villa section where beautiful homes are almost hidden in the luxuriant foliage of an old forest.

Crowded into the space of a square kilometer bounded by the Brandenburg Gate, the Spree, the Lust-Garten and the Leipziger Strasse, one finds practically everything of historical interest contained in the city. This does not include the group of statuary along the Sieges-Allee in the Tiergarten—that group of monuments to the memory of departed rulers which has caused so much discussion as to its artistic value.

One of the best works of the seventeenth century is the statue of the Great Elector, which adorns the Kurfürsten Bridge across the Spree, at the end of Unter den Linden. This is remarkable in its contrast between the majestic repose of the Elector and the attitudes of the slaves at the base, typifying the hostile powers conquered by him.

The Royal Palace was begun about the middle of the fifteenth century; to it each succeeding monarch added a wing or hall. Frederick I decided to raze the conglomerate and construct a unified palace of enormous proportions. His plans were never carried out. From the river side the old sections are still visible. The palace was beautified from time to time by the addition of great portals and a dome, which rises 232 feet above the street. Some parts of the building are now a public museum, having been taken over by the State after the abdication of Wilhelm II.

Though the Berlin royal palaces are comparatively modern and have not the lure of the old castles and ruins of castles along the Rhine, they are of pecu-

liar interest to the student because of the historical background of the Hohenzollern family, who were piloting Berliners before Columbus made his first voyage across the Sea of Darkness and who held the reigns of government during the centuries during which the colonists in the new land gained their independence, settled their question of unity by civil war and developed into a nation of power and wealth.

#### CHANCES WROUGHT BY WORLD WAR— GREATER BERLIN

Travelers who knew Berlin before the war and revisit it now realize at once that great changes have been wrought during the past decade. Formerly Berlin was famous for its cleanness, for the bright lighting of its streets. All its houses were in spick-and-span order.

Now, however, many of its houses are neglected. They are shabby—one notices immediately that they have long lacked a new coat of paint. Berlin's streets are badly cared for, badly swept. Street lighting in the evening and at night is reduced to a minimum. No longer does the visitor see the brilliant carriages of the Imperial Court, of the German Princes and Princesses. Few uniforms are visible. These changes, however, are merely external; they are offset by the fact that traffic in Berlin streets is as lively as ever and the attractiveness of the show windows and the profusion of their displays undiminished.

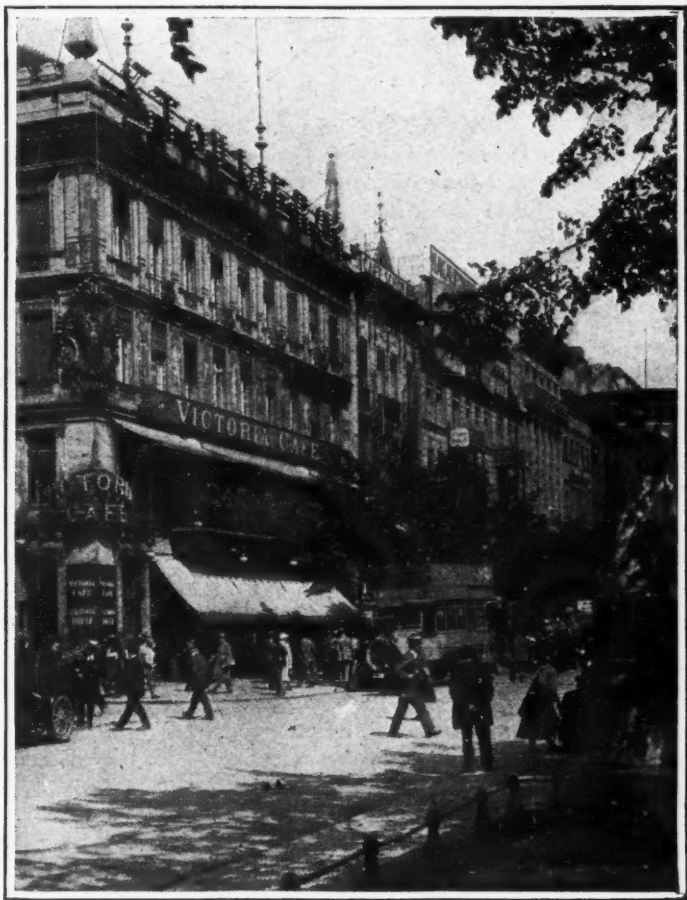
Where the really deep changes have occurred is in the internal life of the city. Pre-war Berlin was governed by a Municipal Council elected by the entire community, which chose a salaried body of municipal administrators, with a Mayor at its head, who then received the sanction of the King of Prussia. For voting purposes the citizens of Berlin were divided into three classes, according to their incomes and their taxes. This assured a comfortable majority of votes to the affluent, house-owning class.

Immediately after the proclamation of the German Republic, this division

of the population into classes for voting purposes. was eliminated. In its place came the franchise for all men and women over 20 — exactly as it is now applied throughout the new Germany. Hand in hand with this drastic change went the creation of an entirely new municipal organization for Berlin.

Pre-war Berlin had 2,000,000 inhabitants. Post-war Berlin — comprising eight towns, fifty-nine communities and twenty-seven estates, all surrounding what used to be the old city—was blended into a new metropolis. A city of 2,000,000 inhabitants was turned into a city of 4,000,000 inhabitants. Many of these independent towns, communities and estates were reluctant to give up their autonomous status. They possessed a very efficient and proud body of officials and were governed as well as Berlin itself. But a series of circumstances finally caused them, after a long struggle, to join in forming one unified community. The large number of independent municipal administrations, existing side by side before amalgamation, often led to unnecessary duplication, likewise to constant friction between the various neighboring communities. Between 1901 and 1918 the City of Berlin was involved in no less than 739 suits against suburban communities, dealing with such questions as to wheth-

er this or that community should care for a pauper and 255 similar suits were brought by suburban communities against the City of Berlin. Added to this, there were numerous suits brought by one of Berlin's neighboring communities against some other. Moreover, such things as traffic systems, gas and electricity installations, hospitals and so forth, had been created for the individual communities and it stood to reason that a system of cooperation among them would be more practical and cheaper and do away with a number of superfluous employees. Moreover, this decentralization became intolerable when, in the war, the community had



Burton Holmes from Ewing Galloway

The intersection of the Friedrichstrasse and Unter den Linden



Former palace of the Kaiser

to take in hand the task of procuring foodstuffs for the inhabitants. For instance, it would happen that one community had five pounds of potatoes per person while another had only three pounds.

These shortcomings were offset by big advantages; for instance, the affection felt by citizens for their own community and their willingness to work for it. Therefore, the decisive arguments which brought about the creation of Greater Berlin were not so much of a practical nature as those based upon that underlying conception of democracy whence sprang also the universal franchise. Naturally there were suburbs among those forming the new Greater Berlin where well-to-do members of the community lived, others where the population was almost entirely composed of laborers and small shopkeepers. Since the outlay of the various communities was approximately the same, it naturally came about that the taxes were particularly burdensome in the poorer communities. Therefore, a compromise had to be worked out, whereby the masses of the poorer population profited.

Similar developments have occurred in the other great metropolises of the world. They, too, include numerous

communities originally lying outside the city gates and later swallowed up by the city. In Berlin, however, this amalgamating process acquired a character all its own from the nature of the German political parties, which are quite different from those of England or the United States.

The strongest among the political parties of Germany is the Social Democratic Party, which represents the working class. England and the United States also have their labor parties, but the Social Democratic Party of Germany is far stronger and more radical. Its basic principle is that every manifestation of political life must be based upon class strife—upon the conflict between proletarians and capitalists, of employers and employed. The German Socialist Party comprises by no means the entire German laboring class. German Roman Catholic workers have an organization of their own, with leaders from among the Catholic priesthood—one must never forget, by the way, that one-third of the entire population of Germany belongs to the Roman Catholic faith. Many other German workers are alienated from the German Socialist Party because it preaches cosmopolitan doctrines and seems to them not sufficiently nationalistic in spirit.



On the other hand, however, many members of the middle class, many intellectuals, belong to the German Socialist Party, because they believe in the cosmopolitan and pacifistic spirit which is particularly strong within the German Socialist ranks.

It was for this very reason that the old Imperial German Government was particularly averse to the creation of a Greater Berlin and to the introduction of the universal franchise for the election of the Berlin Municipal Council, since it feared that this would mean delivering the Administration of Berlin into the hands of the Socialists.

But when the revolution came and at one fell swoop introduced both a tremendous increase in the size and population of Berlin and the universal enfranchisement of voters as well, the previous worry about possible socialization of the German metropolis gave way to a greater fear that Berlin might become a Soviet republic, that a complete upheaval as to property rights was imminent. This fear turned out to be un-

justified. The Socialists, to be sure, got a big majority at the first voting contest within the new Berlin metropolitan district, but when this vote was declared void because of a technical flaw and a new vote became necessary the bourgeois parties managed to win with a small majority.

#### GREAT INDUSTRIAL CENTRE

Berlin lies in the middle of a great plain. Southern and Western Germany, on the other hand, are mountainous. Thus Berlin could be provided with railways much more cheaply and promptly than cities to the westward—cities which far outranked the upstart Berlin in age-old wealth and industrial traditions. Moreover, the Prussian Government stepped in with a helping hand when private capital was unable to build railways, since it recognized the political and military advantages of connecting all the provinces by rail with the capital, Berlin. It was the Prussian Government which built the great German eastern rail line, from Berlin to Posen, Danzig



The Chancellor's Palace

and Königsberg. Today no less than thirteen trunk railways radiate from Berlin.

These plentiful new railway connections, together with the already existing waterways, transformed Berlin into an industrial centre. Berlin's electrical industry alone now employs no less than 170,000 workers, totaling, with their families, about 565,000 souls, and constituting something like one-seventh of Berlin's entire population.

Hand in hand with this industrial development there naturally went a no less important growth of commercial activity and the rise of a complex banking system. Moreover, Berlin came to possess not only a very numerous official class but everything that has to do with science and art—a university, an academy of sciences, technical, agricultural and commercial schools, art academies, music schools, high, normal and middle-grade schools, and an entire widely developed system of public schools. Therefore, though Berlin has had an entirely different historical development from London and Paris, and really only became a metropolis within the last century, its population, nevertheless, is composed of much the same elements as those of the capitals referred to, and there are enough different elements in its population to hold their own against socialism, even in the face of the universal franchise and the preponderantly industrial character of the present-day Berlin. Especially significant in this connection is the fact that when the German Socialists entered the government of the German Republic and began to feel responsibility, there came a split in their ranks. Though the great majority of German workers has by no means discarded the old doctrine of a class conflict, the Socialist Party, notwithstanding, has become, for all practical purposes, a party which desires to cooperate with the bourgeois parties on the basis of the present structure of society.

Arrayed against the German Socialists today are the Communists; the latter, in closest touch with the Russian

Soviets, still cling to the idea of world revolution, and denounce the Majority Socialists as deserters and traitors. Nowhere is there deeper partisan hatred than between these former comrades, and naturally this hatred redounds to the advantage of the cooperation between Social Democracy of Germany and the moderate bourgeois parties.

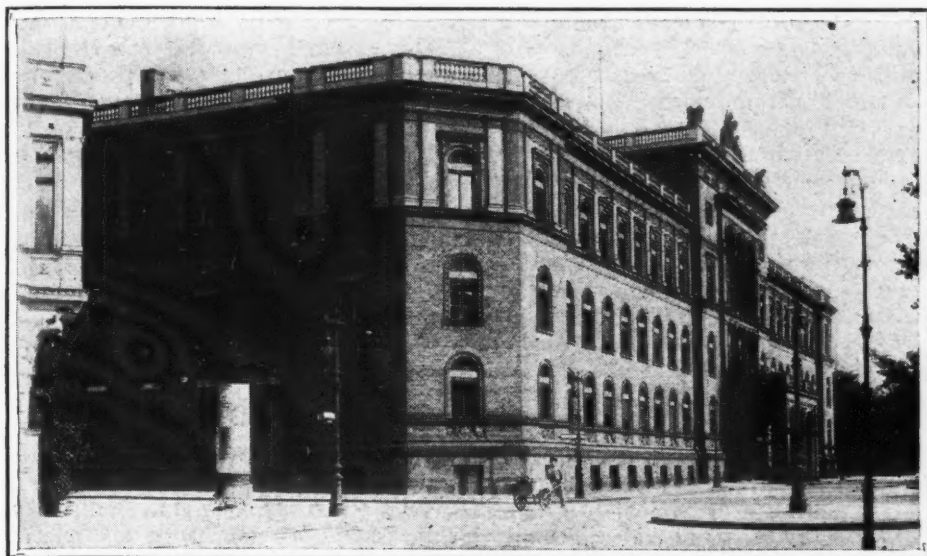
Thus it has been possible to maintain or restore an orderly economic system on the purely democratic soil of the new Greater Berlin. But the transition period was one of extreme difficulty.

#### BLOODLESS REVOLUTION DUE TO DEMOCRATIC TREND

It is no mean testimony to the efficiency of the Berliners that, despite all the confusion of political and social conflict, despite the dissolution of their old-time municipal administration, despite suffering among high and low, despite the passionate excitement among the masses, they set up no guillotine, as did the Parisians in 1793, nor did they let matters come to serious bloodshed, while at the same time they completely transformed their municipal government, as I have described. Not only that—they also applied the new form of government to a city doubly as large as pre-war Berlin.

This was possible only because it was not a matter, after all, of creating something entirely new, but of applying in a new way something which already existed.

Nobody can understand Germany's democracy of the present day unless he bears distinctly in mind how strong the democratic elements in Germany already were under the old Imperial Government. The Constitution of the old Germany was—if one be permitted the expression—dualistic. It provided, at one and the same time, a strong monarchy and a strong democracy. Germany was the first among all the great European nations to introduce (in 1867) the system of universal, equal, secret franchise, coupled with freedom of association and assembly and freedom of the press. In foreign countries the im-



The building occupied by the Great General Staff of the German Army

portance of this democratic element in the old imperial Germany is usually underestimated, the reason for this being that the German democratic press itself painted the influence of the German democratic element as utterly without importance. It did so, however, merely for purposes of opposition and propaganda. The democratic Reichstag of the old Germany was so powerful, indeed, that Prince Bismarck conceived the idea of altering the voting laws by means of a coup d'état. But Emperor William II, being unwilling to concur in such a scheme, turned his back on Bismarck and dismissed him—in 1890.\* Thus the revolution merely gave complete governing power to elements which had already wielded half that power, and this explains the beneficent moderation characterizing the change of régime in Berlin.

Many of the men who took hold of the Berlin administration after the German revolution had already been members of the municipal council. The

very first thing they did was to wait upon the Mayor of Berlin, Wermuth—formerly a Cabinet Minister of Emperor William II—and ask him to continue discharging his duties as Mayor. Wermuth, who by conviction was a severe Prussian official, had sufficient political insight and sense of duty to continue in office under the German revolutionary government. He maintained his authority by informing the stump speakers who were haranguing the people that their own existence depended upon the uninterrupted flow of food into the city, which could be managed and assured only by the old, tried municipal officials.

In a brilliantly written book, entitled "Memories from an Official's Life," Wermuth himself describes his transition from Imperial Cabinet Minister to elected Mayor of the German capital, and thence to a post wherein he both helped the German revolution to succeed and at the same time contributed toward taming it. In this book he tells how at one municipal session a radical Councilor shouted to the assembly that, even if the interruption of Berlin's milk supply should cause the death of some hundreds of children, this must not be

\*I have set all this forth in detail in my "Government and the Will of the People," which has appeared in America in an English translation by Roy S. MacElwee, published by the New York University Press.  
—Author's note.

allowed to overshadow the welfare of coming generations. "Not hundreds of children—hundreds of thousands," was Wermuth's calm retort. It sufficed. The "wild" man subsided into silence, all the others present backed the Mayor, and Wermuth continued to hold the reins of Berlin's administration. And just as Wermuth and Berliners like him succeeded in overcoming the communistic revolt, they later succeeded in weathering the revolt of the monarchists—the so-called "Kapp Putsch"—and in again promptly restoring order.

#### ECONOMIC RESULTS OF RUHR WAR

Another serious crisis befell both Germany and Berlin when the French, because Germany had failed to deliver on time a few thousand telegraph poles and some wagonloads of coal, invaded German territory in 1923, and occupied the great, rich coal lands lying along the Ruhr. English crown jurists declared this action contrary to international law, but that did not help Germany in any way. Being fully disarmed, Germany was forced to acquiesce in this act of violence, and seek, by passive resistance, to blunt the French sword. After the five years of bloody World War a new economic war began. All that should come up for consideration here is the effect of the French occupation of the Ruhr district on social conditions in Berlin.

The immediate consequence was that thousands of families, driven from their homes with all their belongings by the French, were forced over the German border and became dependent on the rest of Germany for shelter and food. And this, of course, affected Berlin.

But the worst effect of the Ruhr war was the complete destruction of German currency. The situation became so bad that it finally became necessary to give 1,000,000,000,000 paper marks for one gold mark. The dollar finally stood at 4,200,000,000,000 paper marks.

The social structure of the old Germany differed from that of England and the United States in that whereas Germany possessed far fewer very rich

people, it could point to a numerous, highly-cultured middle class. This middle class was totally wiped out. According to some American statistics, the national wealth of Germany in 1912 was \$77,783,000,000. In 1922 it was only \$35,700,000,000, or not quite half.

The loss shown by these figures was borne largely by the German middle class. Today many families who formerly were very rich are reduced to absolute poverty. Others, however, notably Jews, have risen through successful speculation, so that, at the present time, Germany still has a large number of very wealthy persons. Moreover that section of the working class which possesses special technical knowledge and is lucky enough to find steady employment, is not badly off today; and unskilled laborers, in so far as they can find employment, are even better off than before. The entire burden of the economic collapse has fallen upon the German middle class.

Germany has an excellent mortgage law and all families who wished to invest their money before the war without indulging in speculation placed it in mortgages—or in national and city bonds. This entire body of securities is now valueless. Germany, also, was very rich in benevolent institutions, which had invested their money, according to law, in a manner compatible with the safety of trust funds. All these funds, also, have been lost beyond recall. Those thus impoverished are constantly bestirring themselves and calling upon the Reichstag to grant them at least a small compensation for their losses. But, Germany, which is compelled to bear the enormous burdens imposed under the Dawes plan, can do little or nothing toward relieving their distress. There is no attempt to deny that Germany is morally obligated to relieve it; but, in order to pay something, one must have something, and Germany has nothing.

Owners of real estate and houses, likewise, who had got rid of their mortgage debts, have been so burdened by the results of Germany's economic col-



lapse and by the enormous taxes assessed upon them, that, even at best, they can meet only a very small share of their obligations. Most of Berlin's house owners mortgaged their properties at such a high rate that it was often said of them that they were only apparently owners of their houses, since, in reality, they were merely administrators for their creditors under mortgages. The German Government forbids these householders to do what they will with their houses. It is the Government that fixes the rents, and these have been kept down to such an extent that it is barely possible for the owners to keep their properties in a decent state of repair. In addition to this, the proprietor is forbidden to give notice to those renting his properties; whosoever has an apartment is allowed to keep it indefinitely; in fact, in some cases, he may even will it to his heirs. Thus it has come about that houses in Berlin have been offered for sale of late for a price totaling twice or thrice the amount of a year's rent before the war, and not a few owners of large houses have petitioned for pauper relief in order to make both ends meet.

A not unimportant source of pros-

perity for pre-war Berlin was the constant influx of foreigners from the countries lying to the east. This stream has completely dried up, owing to the economic ruin of Russia and Poland. Paris still attracts well-to-do Americans and English, who stay there a short time just as they did before the war, pouring large amounts of money into Parisian coffers. Berlin, however, can no longer eat of this fruit, and is thrown entirely upon her own resources.

I myself am acquainted with not a few old gentlemen who, having retired from business with a fair fortune, sufficient for their needs, planned to rest for the remainder of their lives. But now, having lost their all, they have sought and accepted humble clerical positions in order to eke out a livelihood. In this way individuals have helped themselves; considered, however, from the general point of view, this has worked disadvantageously, since the positions occupied by these older men, unremunerative though they are, are thus made inaccessible to younger people. I know of a big Berlin bank which, during 1923, when the growing inflation of the German currency necessitated much clerical help, had no less than 28,000



The building of the German Admiralty

employees. Since then it has discharged 16,000 and retains 12,000—nor is it yet done with discharging those deemed superfluous. It has been the same way in other banks and business houses and those discharged are desperately seeking for some other occupation and not finding it.

Thus it will be seen that there are many different waves to be observed in the great political, economic and social transformation which Germany—and Berlin—have undergone. One must note particularly the distinction between the effects of the World War and the effects of the French invasion of the Ruhr district in January, 1923, which caused the destruction of German currency.

#### CHILDREN'S HEALTH

The effects of the war fell most heavily upon the masses. The effects of the Ruhr occupation, as stated, hit the middle class hardest. This effect may be seen even to this day in the condition of German school children. Examinations by Berlin physicians, who regularly inspect Berlin schools, have shown that children in the public schools suffer now much more from chronic complaints, that they are more nervous and less developed physically than they were, on an average, before the war. Rickets, flabby muscles, weak bones, anemia, tuberculosis, scrofula, adenoids, arrested development—all these ailments, due to undernourishment, insufficient clothing and unhealthy, insufficiently-heated dwellings, are prevalent among Berlin school children. Moreover, decrease in the birth rate has resulted in appreciably diminishing the number of children attending school. At Easter, 1921, the Berlin public schools maintained 5,200 classes; in the Autumn of 1923 this total had fallen to 4,500, and, in addition, the average of children per class had dropped from forty-three to thirty-five.

The first effect of the collapse of the German currency was—as is the case at present in France—a material increase in exports and manufacturing. On

Sept. 2, 1922, there were in Berlin only 27,500 persons entirely without employment and receiving charity. But when, after the Ruhr occupation, there came another industrial collapse, the number of unemployed rose rapidly until it reached a total of 235,853 on Jan. 1, 1924. (The total number of workers in Berlin is about 580,000.) Since then, as I remarked above, the situation of the working classes has greatly improved, whereas the middle class has borne the brunt of the economic storm. There is no way of determining by statistics how many persons have died of hunger in Germany, because, in the great majority of cases, hunger weakens little by little. From January, 1922, to October, 1923, it was officially stated that 103 persons perished in Berlin of starvation. During the same period there was a large increase in suicides among women, showing beyond a doubt that the reason for self-destruction was lack of food. Marriages in Berlin dropped from 52,833 in 1922, and about the same total in the next year, to 30,341 in 1924. Whereas, in 1913, 76,665 children were born alive in Berlin, the total of such births for 1923 was only 38,924.

The influence of the socialistic spirit on workers' wages was to the highest degree disadvantageous to Germany's economic production. In deference to the principle of equality the difference between the wages paid to skilled and unskilled labor was reduced to a minimum. For this reason there were soon no more apprentices to the various trades; young people failed to see why they should spend several years learning a trade when they could earn practically as much without knowing anything about it. Of late this state of affairs has somewhat improved; wages of skilled labor have risen and the workingmen's guilds report that the number of apprentices is once more increasing. And, whereas the number of pupils in the lower-grade public schools has decreased, the influx of new pupils to the higher-grade schools has been so



The Deutsches Theater

great that many new classes have had to be established.

Large though Berlin is, it has not the same importance in relation to the rest of Germany that London has in relation to England, or, especially, Paris in relation to France. As a manufacturing centre Berlin is surpassed by the Ruhr district and by Saxony. More important still, the intellectual life of Germany, in which Berlin plays such an important rôle, is by no means centred in Berlin. Dresden, Leipzig, Munich, Frankfort, Cologne, Düsseldorf and Hamburg all have their own intellectual life and their own canons of taste, and they often disagree with Berlin's opinion. And not only these German cities—of importance also because of their large populations—have their own intellectual life. There are many small places—very small, some of them—uni-

versity towns like Göttingen, Jena, Heidelberg, Tübingen. Then one must make special note of the domain of music, wherein Germany plays such a leading part. Even German towns with a population of 4,000 have their own musical society, their singing club, which gives performances of high artistic perfection and by no means merely imitate Berlin.

It has been jokingly said that one-half the Germans are always busy examining the other half. Dr. Paul Rohrbach went further and said that in other lands men were made up of body

and soul, whereas the German was made up of three parts—body, soul and diploma. There can be no doubt that the severe organization of the entire German educational system has been by no means the least important factor in contributing toward the manifold great achievements of the German Nation and toward the high power of resistance shown by Germany in the World War against the seven-fold superiority of her foes.

But this educational organization also brought great disadvantages. Those Germans in the Germany of before the war who had not taken the right course of study, who had not passed the right examinations and acquired the right educational diploma, found great difficulty in getting good positions. To be sure, it was not so difficult for talented boys to rise out of the humblest conditions of life, since they could avail

themselves of the numerous public scholarships in order to acquire the needed degree of education. In this domain Germany was always democratic. Nevertheless, many still failed to avail themselves of the educational facilities provided, and it was not until the advent of the republic that the door to the highest positions was thrown open to them.

But it must be borne in mind that basically the republic has by no means done away with the old educational system; it has improved this system in some of its details, impaired it in others. For instance, one of the changes under the republic which has turned out to be an improvement on the old system is the admission to German universities of those showing some special talent without requiring that they shall have had a certain fixed course of schooling, with its attendant final examination. On the other hand, the German Republic, deferring to the doctrine of democratic equality, has eliminated the excellent preparatory schools for the high schools (*Gymnasias*), thus artificially prolonging and making more difficult the education of children of cultured families. The republic has also almost entirely suppressed private schools which are of such importance in the educational scheme, thereby acquiring many enemies among the cultured classes of Germany.

I assume that there will be finally some sort of compromise between the adherents and devotees of the old imperial Germany and the present-day ultra-democratic, slightly socialistic German Republic. Strong as is the communist movement in Germany, especially in Berlin, it will nevertheless not bring us to conditions like those in Russia. Equally outside the realm of probability is the restoration of the German Empire in its old form, especially when it is borne in mind that twenty-two other kings and princes ruled in Germany side by side with the German Emperor.

Bagehot pointed out years ago that genuine progress in politics consists in

matching new institutions to old. In this article I have already pointed out that the German Revolution of 1918 was characterized by such moderation because Germany was already half a democracy. All the greater, therefore, is the probability that Germany's future development will continue in this same direction, blending what is new with what has been handed down by tradition.

#### GERMAN SANITY AND VITALITY

The best testimonial to the vitality of the German people is the fact that by means of one courageous resolve—that of making the terrible sacrifice of the entire German middle class, with the exception of the land-owning element—it succeeded in emerging from the chaos of currency inflation—to such an extent, in fact, that Germany, in so far as its currency is concerned, has left France behind. Another testimonial to the inherent qualities of the Germans is that by far the great majority of the German working masses have turned away from socialistic Utopias to healthful, practical politics.

One must not forget, however, that the further development of Germany and, especially, of Berlin, will be conditioned not only by internal politics but by Germany's relationship to foreign countries. The Treaty of Versailles took from Germany several eastern provinces and annexed them, without consulting their inhabitants, to Poland; in those portions of the Province of Prussia where a plebiscite was held more than 90 per cent. of the population voted to remain with Germany. The new post-war eastern boundaries have made Berlin almost a frontier city; from Berlin to the Polish border is a distance of only about eighty miles. Moreover, the Poles have a well-equipped and numerous army, against which Germany, almost entirely disarmed, could only with great difficulty defend her capital.

Will the League of Nations or the Hague Arbitration Court provide Berlin with the guarantee of security which arms can no longer give her?



# Serbia's Responsibility for the World War

By SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY

Professor of History, Dartmouth, 1902-1914; Professor of European History, Smith College, since 1914; internationally recognized as a leading authority on the origins of the World War

THE immediate occasion of the World War was the murder of the Austrian Archduke at Sarajevo. Had it not occurred, there would have been neither an Austro-Serbian War, nor a World War, in the Summer of 1914. In spite of the increasing tension between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, it is probable that European diplomacy would have succeeded for months, perhaps for years, in averting a conflict which all statesmen foresaw as unspeakably terrible, and for which the Franco-Russian forces planned to be better prepared in 1917 than in 1914. The murder of the Archduke ignited material which would not otherwise have taken fire as it did, or perhaps not at all. It is therefore of importance to determine the responsibility for the deed which was to have such awful and world-racking consequences.

What are the true details of the Sarajevo plot? What were the motives of the assassins? Who were their instigators or accomplices? These are dark and difficult questions which have remained more mysterious and baffling than most of the problems relating to the immediate causes of the war. Serious historians have devoted relatively little attention to them. Fantastic rumors and persistent misstatements, born of hatred and war propaganda, have passed current for a longer time on this subject than on any other aspect of those tragic days which set Europe aflame. There are many reasons for this. The official Austrian version, which laid the blame largely on the Serbian agitation for a "Greater Serbia," and especially on the subversive activities of the Serbian pa-

triotic association known as the "Narodna Odbrana," was set forth in Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, and in the dossier offered to the powers, containing the results of Austria's Sarajevo investigation and justifying the ultimatum.<sup>1</sup> But this Austrian version never inspired much confidence—to put it mildly—among most people in the Entente or neutral countries. The investigation at Sarajevo had necessarily been very hurried and had been carried on in strict secrecy. The dossier seemed to read like a hasty patch-work; appended to it are a couple of "supplements after the close of the printing." As the dossier did not reach the powers until after they had begun seriously to suspect that Austria was bent on war against Serbia in any event, the statesmen of Europe were already so entirely absorbed with apprehension of a general European war that they had no time, in their hot, sleepless days and nights, to give any serious attention to what they suspected might be fabricated accusations.<sup>2</sup> There was fresh

<sup>1</sup> Austrian Red Book, Nos. 7-9, 19.

<sup>2</sup> The dossier was dispatched by mail or messenger to twenty-two Austrian diplomatic representatives abroad on July 25 (Austrian Red Book of 1919, II, 48). It was delivered to Bienvenu-Martin in Paris on July 27, but only the first part of it was printed in the French Yellow Book, 75. It was apparently not offered to Sir Edward Grey in London until July 29, and it is not printed at all in the English Blue Book. It is even doubtful whether Sir Edward Grey read it at all, at the time; cf. Grey to Bunsen, July 29 (Blue Book, 91): "The Austrian Ambassador told me today he had ready a long memorandum, which he proposed to leave and which he said gave an account of the conduct of Serbia toward Austria, and an explanation of how necessary the Austrian action was. I said I did not wish to discuss the merits of the question between Austria and Serbia." To Sazonov in St. Petersburg the dossier was not shown at all, and is not printed in the Russian Orange Book. On July 24, when informed of the ultimatum, Sazonov told the Austrian Ambassador that he "was really not curious at all to see the dossier; the fact is, you want war and have burned your bridges." But on July 29, "Sazonov begged again urgently for the transmission of the dossier, which had been promised to the Powers, but had not yet been pro-

in every one's mind the memory of the disgraceful Agram and Friedjung trials, in which Austrian officials had been detected in using forged documents in their efforts to incriminate Serb sympathizers. Was there any likelihood that the dossier of 1914 was not equally dishonest? People prejudiced against the Central Powers, therefore, were inclined to consign Berchtold's dossier to oblivion or incredulous ridicule, and to accept instead the Serbian Government's explicit denial of the Austrian charges and its sweeping assertion that it was in no way guilty of any complicity.

#### TRIAL OF THE ASSASSINS

Later on, in November, 1914, the assassins and other suspects were brought to a formal trial at Sarajevo. A stenographic report of the essential part of it, translated into German from the Croatian original, was published in Berlin in 1918.<sup>3</sup> It is a fascinating human document, full of pathos and humor. It seems to indicate that the trial was full and fair. In contrast to the preliminary judicial investigation in July preceding, it was less strictly secret; in addition to the twenty-two defendants, more than a hundred witnesses, several soldiers and the judicial officials themselves, a small select "public," was admitted into the crowded, stuffy little court room. Several times the Judge had to suspend the session for five minutes to open the windows for fresh air. Twice he had to in-

struct feeble-voiced persons, "Speak louder! Because this is a public proceeding, and the rest, as well as I, want to hear what you say."<sup>4</sup> The report of the trial also throws much valuable light on the dark preparations within Serbia which culminated in the assassination. Yet few persons outside Germany appear ever to have given it any serious attention. This is partly because, at the time of its publication in 1918 Germany was cut off from communication with much of the world; and it is partly because war hatred and moral blindness condemned it in advance as another German "falsification" or "piece of propaganda." It is significant, for instance, that even so distinguished a historian as Sir Charles Oman, in what has been commonly regarded as the best English work on the immediate causes of the war, thinks "the whole evidence is falsified. \* \* \* The record of the trial has been so much tampered with that no confidence can be placed in any word of it."<sup>5</sup> Yet the fact is, as we shall see below, that Austria's charges against Serbia in 1914, confirmed by the evidence at the trial, are really an understatement, rather than an overstatement, of Serbia's responsibility. So, for nearly a decade, the truth about the Sarajevo plot has remained mysterious and unknown. The Austrian evidence was neglected, discredited or ridiculed. Serbian writers, on the other hand, were careful to publish nothing in conflict with the attitude of injured innocence which their Government had assumed in 1914.

#### NEW REVELATIONS

Within the last three years, however, there have come numerous Serb revelations, whose authors appear to be moved by various motives: simply to tell the truth; to play party politics; or, strangely enough, to claim the doubtful honor of being among those who planned the murder of the Archduke, which ultimately resulted in the estab-

duced. One would like to see it before the war with Serbia should have begun. If war once breaks out, it would be too late to examine the dossier." Szapary to Berchtold, July 24, 29, A. R. B., II, 19; III, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Pharos: *Der Prozess gegen die Attentäter von Sarajevo: nach dem aemlichen Stenogramm der Gerichtsverhandlung aktenmassig dargestellt*; Einleitung von Josef Kohler, Berlin, 1918, pp. 165. "Pharos" is said to be a pseudonym. Pharos does not attempt in his German translation to reproduce all the evidence from the lesser defendants and the witnesses; he gives only the part of the record concerning the leading prisoners. The original stenographic report in Croatian manuscript is said (according to the Vienna paper, *Der Tag*, No. 84, April 7, 1925) to have come into the hands of the editor of the Sarajevo newspaper, *Vechernje Posta* (Evening Post), and to have been placed by him at the disposal of the Yugoslav Government. It will be interesting to see whether the Yugoslav authorities can extract anything from it for their own exculpation. A condensed summary of the whole trial, including portions omitted by Pharos, was published anonymously at Berne in 1917: *Sarajevo; La Conspiration Serbe contre la Monarchie Austro-Hongroise*, pp. 62-150.

<sup>4</sup> Pharos, pp. 120, 144.

<sup>5</sup> C. Oman: *The Outbreak of the War of 1914-1918*, London, 1919, p. 9.

lishment of the glorious Yugoslav Kingdom.

The first of these revelations to attract attention beyond the frontiers of Serbia<sup>6</sup> came from the pen of a well-known professor of history at Belgrade, Stanoje Stanojevitich.<sup>7</sup> He gives no references to his authorities, but, according to his preface, gathered much of his information at first hand from surviving Serbian conspirators with whom he was personally acquainted. In seeking to minimize the responsibility of the Narodna Odbrana (National Defense) and thus to discredit the Austrian version of the plot, he throws the blame on the leader of a less well-known secret Serbian revolutionary society, "Ujedinjenje ili Smrt" (Union or Death), commonly known as the "Black Hand." This was composed of a powerful clique of military officers who had plotted and carried out the murder of King Alexander and Queen Draga in 1903, and had since then played a sinister rôle in Serbian politics and foreign relations. The seal of this society bore with ominous significance a dagger, a bomb, a bottle of poison and skull and crossbones. Its leader and moving spirit was no less a person than the Chief of the Intelligence Department (i. e., spy service) of the

Serbian General Staff, Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijevitich. Of this sinister but remarkable figure, whom the Pashitch Party put to death in 1917, but who has become a hero in the eyes of a large part of the Serbian people, Stanojevitich gives the following edifying picture:

Gifted, cultured, personally brave, honest, full of ambition, energy and willingness to work, and a convincing talker, Dragutin Dimitrijevitich had an extraordinary influence on those about him, especially on his companions and the younger officers, who were altogether inferior to him in feeling and character. He had the qualities which fascinates men [in Serbia]. His reasoning was always thorough and convincing; he understood how to make the worst deeds appear trifles, and the most dangerous schemes innocent and harmless. At the same time, he was in every respect a splendid organizer; he always kept everything in his own hands, and even his most intimate friends knew only what was on foot at the moment. But Dragutin Dimitrijevitich was also extraordinarily conceited and fairly affected. Being very ambitious, he loved secret activity, and he loved also that men should know that he was engaged in this secret activity, and kept everything in his own hands. Doubts about what was possible or impossible, or about the reciprocal relation of power and responsibility, never troubled him. He had no clear conception of political life and its limitations. He saw only the goal immediately before his eyes, and went straight at it, without hesitation and regardless of consequences. He loved danger, adventure, secret trystings and mysterious doings. \* \* \*

Restless and adventuresome, he was always planning conspiracies and assassinations. In 1903 he had been one of the chief organizers of the plot against King Alexander. In 1911 he sent some one to murder the Austrian Emperor or heir to the throne. In February, 1914, in concert with a secret Bulgarian revolutionary committee, he agreed upon the murder of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria. In 1914 he took over and organized the [Sarajevo] plot against the Austrian heir to the throne [Franz Ferdinand]. In 1916 he sent some one from Corfu to murder King Constantine of Greece. And in the same year he was apparently seeking to have dealings with the enemy and organized a plot against the then heir to the Serbian throne, Prince Alexander. For this reason he was condemned to death and shot at Saloniki in June, 1917.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Among well-informed Serbians themselves it has been an open secret from the very first that higher Serbian officials than those charged in the Austrian ultimatum shared in the preparation of the plot to murder Franz Ferdinand. After the Saloniki Trial of 1917, by which the Pashitch Party crushed the "Black Hand" with the aid of accusations brought by one of its Sarajevo conspirators (Tsiganovitch) against its leaders, it was currently rumored that the whole Pashitch Cabinet had a guilty knowledge of the plot prepared in Belgrade to murder the Archduke. Cf. D. R. Lazarevitch: *Die Schwarze Hand*, Lausanne, 1917; Seton-Watson, *Serbia's Choice*, in *The New Europe*, Aug. 22, 1918; M. Bogitchevitch: *The Causes of the War*, Amsterdam, 1918 (new and enlarged French edition, Paris, 1925); *Weitere Einzelheiten ueber das Attentat von Sarajevo*, in *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, III, 15-21, 437-444, Jan. and July, 1925; A. von Wegerer: *Der Anlass zum Weltkrieg*, *ibid.*, 353-405; L. Mandl: *Ein duesteres Gedenktage*, in *Die Vienna Neues 8 Uhr-Blatt*, Nos. 2906-2909, June 27-July 1, 1924; N. Nenadovitch: *Les secrets de la camarilla de Belgrade*, in *La Federation Balkanique*, Dec. 1, 1924; the articles by M. Vladimirov, N. Mermet and V. Nikolitch, *ibid.*, May 31, 1925, and by N. Obarov, *ibid.*, July 15, 1925; and the statements of Colonel Bojin Simitch printed by Victor Serge in the *Paris periodical*, *Clarite*, May, 1925.

<sup>7</sup> S. Stanojevitich: *Ubištvo Austrlijskoga Prestolonaslednika Ferdinanda* (The Murder of the Austrian Heir to the Throne, Ferdinand), Belgrade, 1923; German translation by H. Wendel: *Die Ermordung des Erzherzogs Franz Ferdinand*, Frankfurt, 1923. Stanojevitich's statements are in large part confirmed by H. Wendel: *Die Habsburger und die Sudslawenfrage*, Belgrade-Leipzig, 1924.

<sup>8</sup> Stanojevitich (German ed.), 50-51. This is the orthodox Pashitch version of the notorious Saloniki affair. There is good reason to believe,

Stanojevitch goes on to describe in detail how this Serbian General Staff officer helped organize the plot in Belgrade and provide the Bosnian youths with the bombs and Browning revolvers actually used at Sarajevo. He gives a naïve motive for Dimitrijevitich's crime: When Dimitrijevitich heard, in addition to other rumors, that the Austrian Archduke was coming to hold manoeuvres in Bosnia, "he was thoroughly convinced that Austria-Hungary intended to carry out an attack upon Serbia," and, "after long consideration came to the conclusion that the attack on Serbia and war itself could only be prevented by killing Franz Ferdinand."<sup>9</sup>

Some months after Stanojevitch made these admissions, which went far beyond the Austrian charges of 1914, a Yugoslav journalist, Borivoje Jevtitch, came forward with an interesting pamphlet.<sup>10</sup> It purports to throw light mainly on the "young Bosnians," the execution of the plot in Sarajevo, rather than on its preparation in Belgrade. Jevtitch was one of the witnesses at the trial of the murderers in 1914. At that time he admitted frankly that he was a contributor to such Sarajevo newspapers as *Srpska Rijetich* (The Serbian Word) and *Narod* (Nation), and also that he was a member of *Mlada Bosna* (Young Bosnia), an association devoted to fostering Serb nationalism in Bosnia. He even admitted having corresponded intermittently with the principal assassins, but stoutly denied that he knew anything of the plot to murder the Archduke, and managed to appear innocent. Such was his testimony in 1914.<sup>11</sup> But in 1924, when his life was no longer in jeopardy at the hands of the Austrian police and when his hopes for Yugoslav

unity had been realized as a result of the assassination and the World War, he declared that he knew all about the plot. He even gave a vivid description of how he spent Saturday night, the eve of the crime, in company with Princip, who fired the fatal shots next morning. He asserted that there were no fewer than ten ambuscades for the Archduke; that if Franz Ferdinand had escaped Princip's bullet, as he did Tchabrinovitch's bomb, there were so many others prepared to slay him that he could scarcely have left Sarajevo alive; the net about him was complete.

#### JOVANOVITCH IMPLICATES PASHITCH CABINET

The most sensational revelation and the most important because made by a distinguished Serbian official who was Minister of Education in the Pashitch Cabinet in July, 1914, and who has recently been President of the Yugoslav Skupshtina (Parliament), is that of Ljuba Jovanovitch. To celebrate the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War there was published in the Summer of 1924, under the editorship of a Russian, a book of short articles by leading Serbians, under the title, "The Blood of Slavdom."<sup>12</sup> The opening article, "After Vidov Dan, 1914," is by Mr. Jovanovitch. In it he suddenly lets the cat out of the bag in the most extraordinary fashion. The very thing that Mr. Pashitch and the Serbian Government had been stoutly denying for years he admits in the most matter of fact way:

At the outbreak of the World War, I was Minister of Education in M. Nikola Pashitch's Cabinet. I have recently written down some of my recollections and some notes on the events of those days. For the present occasion I have chosen from them a few extracts, be-

however, that this alleged plot against Prince Alexander was in part a mere pretext, and that one of the main reasons for closing Dimitrijevitich's mouth forever was the fear on the part of the Pashitch party that he might reveal to the world the truth about his own part in the murder plot which gave rise to the World War and thus reveal the Serbian Cabinet's own guilty knowledge of that plot. See above, note 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>10</sup> Jevtitch: *Sarajevski Atentat*, Sarajevo, 1924; some of his conclusions are summarized by Albert Mousset, "L'Atentat de Sarajevo," in *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXXI, 44-68, 1925; in the *Paris Figaro*, May 23, 1924; and in *The New York Times*, June 22, 1924, E, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> *La Conspiration Serbe*, 133; Mousset, 59 f.

<sup>12</sup> *Krv Slovenstva*, Belgrade, 1924. Mr. Jovanovitch's article is accessible in English translation in the *Journal of the Institute of International Affairs* for March, 1925, and in a separate reprint. The article is also reproduced in large part, with comments, by the Balkan traveler and socialist, M. Edith Durham: "Fresh Light on the Crime of Sarajevo," in the *Contemporary Review*, 1-11, Jan. 1925, which is reprinted in *The Living Age*, March 7, 1925, pp. 532-539. "Vidov Dan" (St. Vitus Day), June 28, was the anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 A. D., and a national Serb festival; it was also the day of the Archduke's assassination.



cause the time is not yet come for everything to be disclosed.

I do not remember whether it was at the end of May or the beginning of June, when one day M. Pashitch said to us (he conferred on these matters more particularly with Stojan Protitch, who was then Minister of the Interior; but this much he said to the rest of us: that certain persons [neki] were making ready to go to Sarajevo to murder Franz Ferdinand, who was to go there to be solemnly received on St. Vitus Day. As they told me afterward, this plot was hatched by a group of secretly organized persons<sup>13</sup> and by patriotic Bosno-Herzegovinian students in Belgrade. M. Pashitch and the rest of us said, and Stojan agreed, that he should issue instructions to the frontier authorities on the Drina to prevent the crossing over of the youths who had already set out from Belgrade for that purpose. But the frontier "authorities" themselves belonged to the organization, and did not carry out Stojan's instructions, but reported to him (as he afterward told us) that the instructions had reached them too late, because the youths had already crossed over.<sup>14</sup>

From this it appears that the whole Serbian Cabinet knew of the plot a month or so before the murder occurred, but took no effective measures to prevent it. The Serbian Government was thus criminally negligent, to say the least. Not having nipped in the bud the plot prepared in their capital by one of their own General Staff officers, and not having prevented the youths from crossing over into Bosnia, either because Protitch did not give his instructions in time or more probably, as we shall see, because "the frontier 'authorities' themselves belonged to the organization" of the "Black Hand," the Serbian Government should at once have notified the Austrian authorities, giving the names of the criminals and all other details which might have led to their arrest before their execution of the plot. But

M. Pashitch and his Cabinet did nothing of the kind. Furthermore, after the crime had been committed they should have made a searching inquiry into the incriminated secret organizations in Serbia and arrested all the accomplices who had helped hatch or carry out the plot. Instead, they sought to conceal every trace of it and denied all knowledge of it, in the hope that Austria would be unable to discover their complicity. No wonder that Mr. Jovanovitch, with his guilty conscience, was "overwhelmed with grave anxiety" when he heard the fatal news at his country house on Sunday afternoon, June 28. It was, however, not regret for the crime, but fear of its consequences, which filled him with "terrible thoughts":

About 5 P. M. an official from the Press Bureau rang me up on the telephone and told me what had happened that morning at Sarajevo. Although I knew what was being prepared there, yet, as I held the receiver, I felt as though some one had dealt me an unexpected blow; and a little later, when the first news was confirmed from other quarters, I began to be overwhelmed with grave anxiety.

I did not doubt for a moment that Austria-Hungary would make this the occasion for a war on Serbia. I saw that the position of our Government and our country in regard to the other Powers would now become very difficult, in every way worse than after May 29, 1903 [N. S. June 11, the date of King Alexander's assassination], or than at the time of our later conflicts with Vienna and Budapest. I was afraid that all the European courts would feel themselves the targets of Princip's bullets and would turn away from us, with the approval of the monarchist and conservative elements in their countries. And even if it did not come to that, who would dare to defend us? I knew that neither France nor, still less, Russia was in a position to match herself with Germany and her ally on the Danube, because their preparations were not to be complete until 1917. This especially filled me with anxiety and fear.

The most terrible thoughts crowded in upon me. This began at 5 P. M. on the Sunday of Vidov Dan [St. Vitus Day] and continued day and night, except during a few fitful moments of sleep, until Tuesday forenoon. Then there came to see me a young friend, Major N. (in the Ministry of Education).

<sup>13</sup> In an explanatory letter in the *Novi Zivot* (New Life), No. 22, of March 28, and in the *Belgrade Politika*, No. 6081, of March 29, 1925, Jovanovitch makes it clear that by this phrase he meant the "Black Hand": "At the time when the impression made by Francis Joseph's proclamation of the annexation was still fresh, a society under the name of Narodna Odbrana was created by private initiative, whereas other more extreme elements, discontented with the inactivity of official Serbia, formed later under the name Ujedinjenje ili Smrt ("Union or Death," commonly known as the "Black Hand"), that 'group of secretly organized persons' which I mentioned in my recollections."

<sup>14</sup> *Krv Slovenstva*, p. 9.

He was uneasy, but not in despair, as I was. I poured out to him my apprehensions without restraint or reflection. He at once said to me, in the tone usual to him on such occasions, that is to say, pleasantly and quietly, but with real inspiration: "My dear Minister, I think it is quite unnecessary to despair. Let Austria-Hungary attack us! It must come to that sooner or later. The present is a very inconvenient moment for us for settling the account. But it is not in our power to choose the moment. And if Austria chooses it—well, so let it be! It may possibly end badly for us, but who knows? It may also be otherwise!"<sup>15</sup>

These words of Major N., which suggest that the Serbian military circles did not take so gloomy a view, but felt sure of Russian protection, "quite pulled me together," Mr. Jovanovitch continues. "Happily, from the Petrograd press—and so far as it was concerned we could assume in advance that it represented the Government view—we received the first favorable reports; it began to take up our defense against the Austro-Hungarian accusations. Russia would not deny us nor withdraw her hand from us. After Russia would come her friends. And so it was —" <sup>16</sup> Mr. Jovanovitch therefore braced himself to the idea of an attack on Serbia and a European war. He noted as favorable circumstances the anti-Serb "pogroms" in Bosnia and the violence of the Austrian press, which would turn European opinion against Austria. His colleagues, however, believed that war could be avoided, and in the expectation "that Vienna would be unsuccessful in establishing any connection between official Serbia and the event on the Miljacka" [the stream flowing through Sarajevo near where the Archduke was murdered], it was decided to conceal all the Cabinet knew, to pose as unconcerned and innocent, to make a demonstration of sorrow and to try to get off as cheaply as possible in giving satisfaction to the country whose royal couple had been murdered:

M. Pashitch therefore hoped that we should somehow pull ourselves through this crisis,

and he made efforts, in which all the rest of us supported him, to preserve as far as possible the relations which we had so far established, in order that Serbia might get off as cheaply as possible with the unhappy task of giving satisfaction to Austria-Hungary, and that she might recover as quickly as possible from the blows which in such an affair were bound in any case to fall upon her.

As is well known, the Government did not fail to do all it could to show their friends and the rest of the world how far removed we were from the Sarajevo conspirators. Thus, on the very same evening upon which it was known what Princip had done, Stojan gave orders that the Belgrade police should forbid all music, singing and merry-making in public places; everything was suspended, and something like official mourning began. M. Pashitch expressed to the Vienna Government our regret at the loss which a neighboring great power had suffered and his execration of the deed itself. At the Requiem in the Catholic Church of the Legation on June 20 [July 3], on the day when the funeral of the murdered Heir to the Throne and his wife took place in Vienna, the Government was represented by several Ministers. I, too, was among them. I wished to show that even I, who, more than any of the others, might have been thought to have approved of Princip's deed,<sup>17</sup> was on the contrary entirely in agreement with what our Cabinet were doing. Nevertheless, this occasion and the short stay in the church were unpleasant to me. I felt myself among enemies, who did not desire peace with us.<sup>18</sup>

What a study in the psychology of the guilty conscience! Knowing of the plot a month beforehand, doing nothing effective to forestall it, terrified at first that Serbia would be isolated and attacked, then hopeful that the truth could be concealed, the Minister of Education went to church in pretended mourning for the murdered victim, for the sake of the good impression it would make. No wonder he felt "unpleasant"!

#### SERBIA'S RESPONSIBILITY

Many more interesting details of these tragic days Mr. Ljuba Jovanovitch gives

<sup>17</sup> Jovanovitch was one of the founders and active members of the Narodna Odbrana, and, in a paragraph which I have omitted, tells of his personal acquaintance with Princip at Belgrade.

<sup>18</sup> Krv Slovenstva, p. 15.

<sup>15</sup> Krv Slovenstva, p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 12.

in his recent revelations, but there is no space to print them here. At this point it may be merely noted that, so far as the present writer has been able to give those revelations careful examination in the light of all the other evidence, the Minister's account is substantially accurate and trustworthy—in fact, remarkably so, when compared with the memoirs of other politicians written ten years after the events. To persons not blinded by prejudice or propaganda it will not come as such a total surprise that the serious historian can no longer maintain the theory that the war guilt was all on the side of Austria and that Serbia was an innocent victim. But among many Serbians and champions of Serbia, Mr. Jovanovitch's revelations have roused mixed feelings of surprise and sorrow, indignation and incredulity. M. Mousset, who passes for a leading French authority on Serbia, has the effrontery to write in 1925: "Without doubt certain diplomatic archives [he does not name them] have been opened. They have made it possible to wash the Belgrade Government of the charge of complicity, which Austria, without herself giving it much credence, brought against it."<sup>19</sup>

An English scholar and prolific writer on the Balkans, long a stout champion of the Yugoslavs, Mr. R. W. Seton-Watson, has gone more thoroughly into this question and has had an interesting experience, if not a complete change of heart. In an article last Winter on "The Murder at Sarajevo,"<sup>20</sup> in which he characteristically says, "We must assign the main guilt to Austria-Hungary, who, by her policy of oppression at home and aggression abroad, had antagonized all sections of the Yugoslav race," he refers to the revelations of Ljuba Jovanovitch as follows:

The whole article [of Jovanovitch] is written in a careless, naïve and reminiscent vein, and its author seems to be blissfully unaware how damning are his admissions if they are to be taken literally. \* \* \* There

thus rests upon Belgrade the onus of proving, either that the information at its disposal was much more vague than Ljuba Jovanovitch would have us believe, or that it conveyed an adequate warning of the danger in some way of which no record has yet reached us. The matter can hardly rest here. Public opinion in Europe and America is more interested than ever in the problem of responsibility for the great war, and is entitled to demand a full and detailed explanation from Ljuba Jovanovitch and from his chief, Mr. Pashitch.<sup>21</sup>

A little later Mr. Seton-Watson went in person to Serbia to demand this explanation—to make Mr. Jovanovitch retract his statements on the spot, or explain them away in some fashion, if possible; or, failing in that, to force the Serbian Government to clear its reputation by making a clean breast of all it knew about the plot in 1914. But he appears to have succeeded in neither the one effort nor the other, judging by a justly impatient open letter which he sent and which was published in the *Zagreb Obzor* (Observer) of May 13, 1925. It read as follows:

It is now more than two months since I requested the Belgrade Government to clear up those statements which Mr. Ljuba Jovanovitch made some time ago in the pamphlet, *Krv Slovenstva*, concerning the Sarajevo murder. But I have never yet received any answer. \* \* \*

A few weeks ago, to be sure, Ljuba Jovanovitch published some articles on responsibility for the war, but in them he evades the main issue and accuses me of an incorrect reproduction of his former statements. [Mr. Seton-Watson therefore put the two concrete questions: "Does Ljuba Jovanovitch stand by his statement, that *at the end of May or the beginning of June* \* \* \* *one day M. Pashitch said* \* \* \* *that certain persons were making ready to go to Sarajevo to murder Franz Ferdinand?*" And second: "Does he actually mean it when he says, in describing how he received the telephone news of the murder at Sarajevo, *although I knew what was being prepared there?*"]

I can understand very well Mr. Ljuba Jovanovitch's hesitation in giving a downright answer. If he denies it, one must wonder how a responsible statesman could write in so frivolous a fashion. And if he admits it,

<sup>19</sup> "L'Attentat de Sarajevo" in *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXXI, p. 44. M. Alfred Mousset is the author of *Le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovenes*, Paris, 1921.

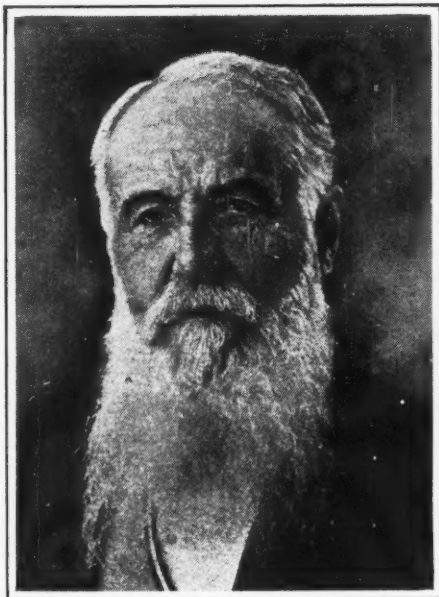
<sup>20</sup> *Foreign Affairs* (N. Y.), III, 489-509, April, 1925.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 507-9.

then his colleague and Minister-President at the time, Mr. Pashitch, is placed under the unpleasant duty of speaking out clearly and frankly, and setting forth the facts in their true light. \* \* \*

To this strong and clear letter of Mr. Seton-Watson's the Serbian Government, so far as we have been able to learn, has still declined to make any satisfactory answer. In fact, the Pashitch newspapers appear to accuse him of "taking part in a pro-German campaign" (!), and the Opposition Press thanks him for having ruined Ljuba Jovanovitch's political career. Curiously enough, Mr. Seton-Watson still remains a doubting Thomas. He cannot bring himself to abandon his faith in the innocence of the Serbian Government which he has so often proclaimed in the past. Toward the close of the letter just quoted he adds: "According to information which I have collected, the statements of Ljuba Jovanovitch seem to be incorrect. \* \* \* I regard it as my duty to get at the real situation and thereby afford the possibility of establishing the full innocence of Serbia."<sup>22</sup>

There has been a rumor for a year or so that Mr. Pashitch would issue a Blue Book of documents which would clear



NICHOLAS PASHITCH

The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, more generally known as Yugoslavia

himself and his Cabinet in 1914 of the grave suspicions which now rest upon them; but it is many months now since this rumor was first circulated, and no Blue Book has appeared. If Mr. Seton-Watson or the Serbians whom he has championed have any important new information, it is high time that they published it for impartial students to examine. Otherwise historians must conclude that Ljuba Jovanovitch's revelations are substantially correct; that the Serbian Government had a guilty knowledge of a murder plot designed to further its nationalistic ambitions; but that it concealed the whole affair, in oblivion of the fact that "murder will out."

<sup>22</sup> Zagreb Obzor, May 13, 1925. In his article in Foreign Affairs and in his letters in the Obzor of April 12, The London Morning Post of April 7 and the Belgrade Politika of April 13, 1925, Mr. Seton-Watson admits that Serbia's good name is seriously compromised by Ljuba Jovanovitch's revelations, but still refuses to be convinced that they are to be taken literally at their face value. For his views and doubts see A. von Wegerer: Der unglaubliche Seton-Watson, in Die Kriegsschuldfrage, III, 287-292, May, 1925; and: Der Anlass zum Weltkrieg, ibid., III, 394-5, June, 1925. Mr. Seton-Watson is said to be preparing a book on the subject, and it is to be hoped that it will appear at an early date. Meanwhile, Ljuba Jovanovitch, under the sting of the attacks which his article has brought down upon him in Serbia, has been publishing in the Belgrade Politika and Novi Zivot a series of "explanations"; these, however, deal largely with his early life and modify only slightly his revelations in Krv Slovenstva quoted above.





# National Realignment on the Tariff Issue

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**M**OST economic issues and many political issues in a nation possessing the wide geographical extent and the diversified economic life that the United States possesses are more or less sectional in their origins. We do not have agriculture, manufacturing and commercial enterprise superimposed upon each other in the same territory as do the older countries of Western Europe. Some parts of our country are preponderantly industrial, others are preponderantly agricultural, while narrow areas along each seaboard are interested also in maritime pursuits. Under such conditions, it is inevitable that economic questions affecting our basic industries should be pushed to the front by sectional groups rather than by classes and that divisions of opinion should follow sectional lines.

Thus we find that the demand for free silver originated in the peculiar economic situation of the West in the nineties and that it became a national issue only because the West was insistent and skillful enough to capture control of the Democratic Party. The demand for the ship subsidy had its origin in the maritime centres along the Atlantic seaboard. Even on the subject of direct taxation, opinions are to no small degree determined by considerations of a sectional nature. The North and East favor lower surtaxes partly because those sections have a large number of incomes in the higher brackets. The West and the South, in which great incomes are the exception, favor relief for the small taxpayer.

Similarly, almost every movement for a change in our tariff laws has had its origin in the needs, real or imagined, of a particular region, and almost every

tariff battle has been sectional in nature. The first strong protective movement arose in the middle Atlantic and middle Western States, where agriculture, shut out of the European markets by the Napoleonic wars, turned to protection in an effort to retain the home market, and where manufactures, which had gained a foothold while importations of manufactured goods from Europe had been cut off, demanded the erection of a tariff barrier against the flood of foreign goods setting in toward our shores after the restoration of peace in 1815. New England, interested largely in maritime pursuits before 1825, was at first inclined to oppose protection, but embraced the protectionist doctrine as its economic life became largely industrial. The whole history of tariff legislation for the next forty years is a history of sectional struggle between these two regions and the South, which promptly opposed the protective movement because it understood that with slave labor it could never become a manufacturing region and also because it realized that a protective tariff would increase the prices of manufactured articles it might wish to buy.

The same sectional considerations were responsible for the attitude of the parties toward the tariff during the fifty years following Lee's surrender. The Republican Party became the traditional party of protection because it drew its strength from the great manufacturing districts north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi River. The Republican West, having no urgent reason to take a stand either for or against high duties, acquiesced willingly in the protectionist policy upon which the industrial East insisted. The Democratic

Party, on the other hand, continued to stand for tariff reduction because the economic position of the Southern States made any other course unthinkable. The South remained after the Civil War, as it had been before, an agricultural community, selling a large proportion of its products abroad and purchasing manufactured articles of general consumption either in the North or in foreign countries and in either instance paying advanced prices because of protection. It had the same interest in opposing high duties as it had before, and inasmuch as the votes of the South formed the backbone of Democratic strength in Congress, the Democrats found it advisable to maintain their traditional stand in favor of moderate duties.

#### CLASHING ECONOMIC INTERESTS

It is not to be supposed that the various arguments employed in tariff discussions throughout these years referred directly to the sectional interest of the opposing parties. The advocates of protection talked about infant industries, about the home market, the American standard of living and about the pauper labor of foreign countries. The advocates of moderate duties on the other hand dealt with the advantages of a division of labor on an international scale, defended the rights of consumers everywhere and made much of the tariff as the "mother of trusts." Although these subjects provided the material for debate, the real driving force behind successive agitations of the tariff question was the economic self-interest of the North and East, on the one hand, and that of the South, on the other.

It is only by study of the economic differences between the sections today that we can gain an understanding of the tariff problem as it now stands. What are the attitudes of the various sections toward the tariff today? Is the South still wedded to the principle of a low tariff, or is it leaning toward extreme protection, as those who emphasize the industrial development of the

Southern States so often suggest? Is the fact that America is now a creditor nation influencing sentiment in the North and East in favor of lower duties, or do those sections still adhere to the high protectionist theory? What is the spirit of the West, which until twenty-five years ago hardly had a tariff voice of its own and which even a few years ago seemed to express its views on this subject with no great amount of conviction?

Before examining these questions it may be well to recall that in the United States there is no longer any pronounced sentiment in favor of free trade. The entire nation seems committed to the protectionist principle in theory. The only real tariff issue concerns the degree of protection that we should have. On this point the high protectionist school holds that the prosperity of American industry and commerce increases with the height of the tariff wall and that it is legitimate to protect every American industry regardless of the rate of duty that may be required or the burdens that may be imposed upon consumers. The low-tariff school on the contrary believes that American industry has no need for all the protection it is getting and that the price we pay for tariff protection to many particular industries is excessive.

Parts of the West, it may also be well to note, are not yet sectionally conscious over the tariff issue. The States near the Canadian border are developing such a consciousness under the pressure of economic reverses, but nowhere else does the West speak with a unified voice on tariff questions. The beet sugar growers of Utah and near-by States are capable of making their influence felt in favor of high protective duties, but it is a localized rather than a sectional influence. In these circumstances, the search for a sectional interest in the tariff west of the Mississippi may safely be confined to the region usually known as the Northwest and including the States from Minnesota westward to the Pacific. An exception is to be found in the case of Arkansas, Louisiana and



The co-authors of the 1922 tariff: Porter J. McCumber, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee (at left), and Joseph W. Fordney, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, photographed at the White House on Sept. 21, 1922, just after President Harding signed the bill (held by Chairman Fordney in the picture)

Texas, which are traditionally and by economic interest a part of the South.

#### ATTITUDE OF SOUTH

The attitude of the South is a favorite point of departure for current discussions of the tariff, especially for those who contend that the South is no longer the home of low-tariff sentiment. Much is being said and even more is being written about the amazing industrial development of the South. The rapid progress of the iron and steel industry in Alabama and Tennessee, the still more rapid expansion of the textile industry in the Carolinas, the remarkable growth of the tobacco industry in North Carolina and Virginia and the development of a diversified system of manufactures throughout the whole Southern Appalachian area have astonished the rest of the nation, long accustomed to think of the South solely as an agricultural region populated by negroes and producing little except cotton and

tobacco. So great has been the astonishment over this process of industrial expansion that few persons outside the South remember that the South has continued to produce cotton and tobacco in undiminished and even in increased quantities. Yet this fact must receive its due consideration. If the development of industries has fostered the growth of high protective sentiment in some parts of the South, it may also be said that the continued pursuit of agriculture has left other parts still in a position to prefer moderation in tariff matters.

The parts of the South which still prefer moderation are much more extensive than the parts which are turning to protection. The highly industrialized areas are to be found in the Appalachian and Piedmont regions. The most important industrial States are Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. There are, to be sure, industrial areas of no inconsiderable extent in all Southern

States, but outside these four the economic life is chiefly agricultural. Texas, Mississippi and Arkansas, for example, are overwhelmingly devoted to farming. In those States and in the lowlands of Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina the economic situation is much the same as it was in the lower South fifty or seventy-five years ago. Cotton is still the principal crop and in some sections almost the only one. Cotton growers are still, as they were in the first half of the last century, selling much of their product abroad and buying manufactured articles of general consumption in the North or East or in foreign countries. In short, they are selling in an open market and buying in a protected market. Hence they have the same interest as their forefathers in keeping tariff duties low.

To a large extent the interest of the tobacco growers is the same. One-third of the tobacco grown in this country is marketed abroad. Tobacco growers, like cotton growers, are selling in an open market and buying in a protected one. Their influence is by no means so important as that of the cotton growers but it is likely to be exerted in the same direction. Inasmuch as tobacco is grown chiefly in States which are making rapid industrial progress, the attitude of the tobacco districts will tend in some measure to offset the trend toward high protection in the industrial districts.

Since a succession of short crops has kept cotton prices relatively higher than prices for other agricultural products, Southern farmers have been reasonably content with the economic status quo. Unless Southern farmers suffer severe financial reverses no spontaneous revolt against the tariff is to be expected. There will be, however, no disposition to oppose Democratic leaders who wish to press the case for tariff revision downward for political purposes. The agricultural South may be expected to tolerate such agitation and even to sympathize with it. Likewise, the agricultural South may be expected to favor movements for tariff revision downward

originating in other quarters and achieving sufficient importance to attract the attention of Southern voters. Perhaps a few representatives of the industrial South may show a disposition to break away from their colleagues on the tariff question. A few representatives of the agricultural regions devoted to the culture of peanuts and other commodities feeling the impact of foreign competition in the domestic market may follow the example of Senators and Congressmen from Louisiana, who have for years stood with the protectionists on account of the extensive sugar interests in their State. But protectionist votes from the South will be the exception and not the rule unless Southerners ignore interests which their region has recognized for a full century.

#### EFFECT OF FOREIGN DEBTS

Turning to consider the position of the North and East as it may have been affected by the financial changes which have made America a creditor nation, we have to deal with a new economic factor, the practical effect of which cannot easily be measured. Much has been said about the necessity for lowering our tariff now that we have extensive investments abroad, but most of these arguments have been based on theory instead of observation. America has been a creditor nation less than ten years. During the entire period industry and commerce in our own country and in the world at large have been too much disturbed to afford any trustworthy indications of the influence of our new position on our domestic economy.

We know that our Government loans to Europe during the World War approximated \$10,000,000,000 and that with unpaid interest our war debts now amount to about \$12,000,000,000. We know that private loans to borrowers in Europe and in other quarters of the globe since the war aggregate more than \$9,000,000,000 and are constantly increasing in volume. We know that, even with the most favorable terms that may be granted for the funding of the war debts, the interest accruing on our pub-

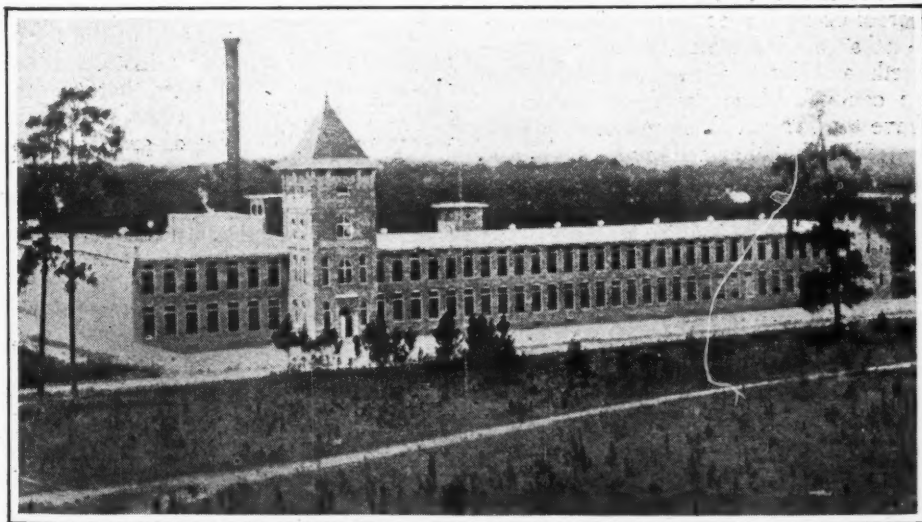


lic and private investments abroad will approach the sum of \$900,000,000 annually. If extensions of credit to foreign borrowers continue, our yearly interest bill will soon approximate \$1,000,000,000. We know, too, that interest payments must be remitted in goods or be reinvested abroad. Finally, we know that the North and East as the source of most of our income taxes have the greatest stake in the repayment of our foreign debt and that the same regions, since they include all of our large financial centres, are most directly interested in the growing volume of private investments in foreign countries.

But we do not know to what extent the interest accruing on our foreign debts may be reinvested abroad or what proportion may be remitted to this country in the form of imports. Even if we were assured that the whole sum would be regularly transferred to us as merchandise, we would not know precisely to what extent our present tariff duties would interfere with the transfer. As long as these uncertainties are not cleared up, calculations as to the possible influence of our position as a creditor nation on tariff sentiment in the North and East are little more than guesses. Theoretically our new situa-

tion would seem to call for a revision of our tariff in the interest of a larger import trade, but theories are rarely accepted as the basis for practical reforms. Such changes usually have their origin in economic pressure applied so heavily as to provoke popular enthusiasm against the existing order. For the present, there is no evidence that the North and East or any other regions are subject to any serious economic pressure by tariff interference with the repayment of our foreign loans or that they will be subjected to such pressure in the near future.

If there is little evidence of economic pressure on any group or region as a result of tariff interference with remittances from abroad, the considerations which prompted the North and East to favor the protective principle in the first instance are still highly persuasive. The people of these sections are now, as they were a century ago, interested primarily in the development and maintenance of manufactures. They still fear the competition of European factories as they did in the years when European goods began to invade this country after the Napoleonic wars. They have the same interest in keeping the home market to themselves and in addi-



Cotton mill at Pritchard, Ala.

Wide World Photos

tion a desire to maintain what is called the American standard of living for American labor. They do not object to paying high prices for manufactured goods for the reason that employers and employes alike profit from the high prices on similar goods which they themselves produce. Their surplus products they sell largely to the South and West, receiving in payment agricultural products, the prices for which are fixed in the open markets of the world. Agriculture in the North and East is devoted to the production of miscellaneous crops for local consumption. It has no interest in the maintenance of lower duties such as the large-scale agriculture in the cotton belt has. Farmers are, therefore, disposed to go along with the manufacturers in their advocacy of high duties.

#### HIGH PROTECTIVE INFLUENCES

Against the economic pressure for high protection, any low tariff sentiment engendered by the desire to facilitate the repayment of our foreign loans is likely to make little headway. It might almost be said that the North and East are in a position to profit from protection at the expense of the South and West. Does it seem at all probable that this advantage will be surrendered? Even if it is found that our interest as a creditor nation conflicts with our interest as an industrial nation, will the North and East, where our industries are centred, place the former interest above the latter? It is reasonably safe to predict that they will not. They are likely to say, as Representative Longworth said when the emergency tariff was under discussion in 1921, that it would be better to cancel the whole of the foreign debt than to allow the repayment of it in goods to injure American industry. That statement may be taken as a fair indication of the relative value attached by the North and East to our protective system and the foreign debts. If those sections should take a different view, it would be because they no longer had a clear perception of their own advantageous position.

Although the Northwest has important mining developments in Montana and an industrial life of no mean scope in Oregon and Washington, its people are engaged for the most part in tilling the soil. They are interested chiefly in the culture of wheat, with a secondary interest in live stock and a limited variety of miscellaneous crops. Inasmuch as the United States produces an exportable surplus of wheat, the Northwest is selling in an open market and buying in a protected market, just as the cotton belt is. The Northwest has the same reasons as the South for opposing the high duties on which the extreme protectionists insist.

Until a few years ago the Northwest showed no disposition to recognize these reasons. The wheat growers were prosperous and, as became all staunch Republicans, they were disposed to credulity when the leaders of their party described the benefits agriculture was supposed to receive from protection. They were not wholly reconciled to the high duties on manufactured articles of which they were themselves the purchasers, as the action of their representatives in Congress in aiding the Democrats to put through a farmer's free list bill in 1912 attested. But they still believed in the benefits of a tariff on agricultural products. The same insurgents who assisted in the passage of the farmer's free list bill voted against Canadian reciprocity on the theory that the removal of the duty on Canadian wheat would reduce the price of grain at Minneapolis and Chicago.

Ten years later this belief was still in evidence when, early during the Harding Administration, the successors of the earlier insurgents voted for the emergency tariff on agricultural commodities. But the wheat growers have suffered a succession of exceptionally severe financial reverses since then. Despite an advance in prices following the failure of the wheat crop in many parts of Canada last year, the Northwest has not yet been able to extricate itself from the grip of depression. None of the remedies by which the wheat growers

have sought to relieve their distress has proved efficacious. Even a 42 per cent. increase in the duty on wheat proved unavailing. In the midst of their struggles the wheat growers have not failed to observe the comparatively prompt restoration of prosperity in the manufacturing centres and their depleted purchasing power has felt the heavy impact of high prices for manufactured articles.

#### \* NEW AGRARIAN TREND

The contrast between the situation of the manufacturer and that of the farmer has started a new train of thought in the agrarian mind with reference to the tariff. We have the result in the McNary-Haugen bill, which met defeat in the Sixty-eighth Congress, and in numerous petitions dealing with the tariff which came up to the same Congress during the closing weeks of its tenure from State Legislatures in the grain belt. The McNary-Haugen bill represented for the Northwest an entirely new approach to the tariff problem. Its proposal to create a dumping corporation to sell surplus American wheat abroad, in order that the American farmer might gain the benefits of protection on that part of his crop sold at home, proceeded on the theory that wheat was not protected by existing tariff duties. The bill contained an implied recognition of the principle which long ago determined the attitude of the South toward the tariff—namely, that prices for staple commodities like wheat are not affected by tariff rates in a country producing an export surplus. It indicated that the Northwest was at last awakening to the close relationship between wheat prices at home and abroad and to the fact that returns from the domestic crop are influenced by the size of the yield in Canada and elsewhere, regardless of the level of tariff duties.

Petitions received by the last Congress from half a dozen State Legislatures in the Northwest did not stop with an implied recognition of this principle. They affirmed it in unmistakable terms. A memorial sent up from the Legisla-

ture of South Dakota, embodying sentiments similar to those expressed in petitions from other States, specifically declared that "protective tariffs for agricultural products are almost wholly ineffective where the product is produced in excess of the demand for home consumption." Nor did the petitioning Legislatures hesitate to point out the difference between the situation of the farmer and that of the laborer and manufacturer and to attribute this difference to the operation of our tariff laws. The Legislature of South Dakota—to use that State again as an example—recalled that "Congress has through special legislation, in the form of protective tariff, protected the products of labor and industry." It also referred to "special legislation, known as restricted immigration" for the protection of the American laborer. It then pointed out that this "special legislation" for labor and industry raised the prices of articles the farmer consumed and insisted that the fundamental cause of the disparity between the farmer's dollar and that of the manufacturer was to be found in the favored treatment the latter received under tariff.

It is only a step from the position indicated in these petitions to the position the South has occupied on the tariff question since it first became an issue. The Northwest has come very near to completely reversing its attitude on the tariff issue.

This is the really significant tariff development of the day. The old division between the low tariff South and the high tariff North and East still holds. The industrial South and a few Southern agricultural regions have a growing interest in high protection and certain financial groups in the North and East have theoretical reasons for favoring lower duties. But the high protectionist sentiment in the South is not yet of extensive proportions, while the low tariff sentiment in the North and East remains for the present an unknown quantity. It is only in the Northwest that a new attitude toward the tariff is clearly perceptible.

# America's New Era of Economic Power

By MAGNUS W. ALEXANDER

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MANY alarmists' voices have been raised to the effect that the United States is reaching a point of diminishing return in its economic development and that with every numerical increase in population, in production and consumption a loss and not a gain in social good is the result. These voices urge that there is no more free land on a large scale available in the United States and, in consequence, opportunity is rapidly becoming more limited; that the average size of the American family is decreasing; that instead of becoming a great homogeneous people we are fast developing into a medley of races; and that it is America and not European and other races that are being dissolved in the melting pot. It is said that our economic life is unbalanced in that our industrial development has been outrunning our agricultural development so that the general prosperity is shared unequally by both, and that the results of our increased production are not distributed fairly in accordance with the requirements of sound progress.

Whether these prophets are right or not, certain it is that we seem to be at a turning point in our economic development and at the beginning of a new and somewhat different era. Signs of this are becoming increasingly evident to observers of our national life. What are the economic characteristics of this new era? What are the outstanding forces that are working the change, and what development may we look forward to during the remainder of the century? With no attempt at completeness a number of major tendencies may be noted.

(1) We are entering a period of relative economic stability. A number of

causes account for this. First, we have passed through an unusual period of invention during the last fifty years. England gave to the world the modern factory system of economic organization. This, to be sure, marked a great improvement over the domestic form of economy that existed before, but the United States carried industrial economic organization a step further by initiating quantity production. This important contribution by the United States was developed in the last half century and was made possible through the combination of unusual managerial ability, vision, willingness to assume risks, and most of all through the ability to develop and apply invention to a remarkable degree. Where in Europe in 1870, for example, the high cost of transportation limited the sale of a bushel of wheat to a radius of 200 miles from the primary market, by 1883 the opening of the virgin prairies in our great West, coupled with the use of new inventions in agricultural machinery and low cost of transportation, enabled us to carry wheat half way round the world and sell it in competition with European wheat in such a way as to create an agricultural crisis in every country in the Old World. It is idle to attempt even to give a list of the important mechanisms, machinery and mechanical appliances that have been invented, for on every side we are surrounded by examples. An era prominent for the quantity of inventions that it has made available is usually followed by a period of assimilation of these inventions, their wide application, adaptation and improvement, resulting in a general leveling up and the raising



of the efficiency of the economic organization.

Moreover, we are at a turning point in industrial organization and opportunity. Our modern industrial history may be said to date from the days of reconstruction following the Civil War. The task of industrial leadership between 1870 and the present century was to develop our resources in man-power and in natural wealth to a point where the needs of our own population could be met. Now the task is to sustain the high level of production already attained and to make further progress from this basis. Since the world economic organization is becoming more and more complex, competition more and more keen, and nations more self-conscious, difficult tasks confront our industrial executives. To be sure, within our own borders there is much room for further intensive development, and the opportunity for further trade development in international markets is large.

It is estimated that there are 1,800,000,000 human beings in the world. Of this huge number two-thirds are still only semi-civilized or in a barbaric condition. Among these 1,200,000,000 persons outside the pale of civilization, it must be apparent, the vast opportunity for future trade development exists. As in the past, civilization has followed pretty much in the path of the sword and the cross, so in the future we may reasonably expect it to grow in the no less fertile ground of commercial intercourse and industrial development. But civilization itself is slow in developing, so that many centuries must pass before the greater part of the world has been brought to standards of living comparable with our own. For the immediate present and the near future, the countries in Europe, in South America and in the Far East present the greatest opportunity for the disposal of American-made goods. Yet, though our immediate opportunity lies in these particular areas, we must not overlook the great expansion in quantity and quality

of home consumption that rests largely within our power.

#### INCREASED PLANT CAPACITY

The impetus of the war led to a tremendous expansion of plant capacity, designed to meet an international emergency and need. Viewed strictly from the consideration of our own present national requirements, our existing plant capacity is in excess of our ability to consume goods that can be produced in them. Nor is the possibility of improvement in European conditions so imminent as to forecast so large a demand for our goods that capacity operation in the near future may be expected. Civilization and economic organization are slow processes in the building and every international war of history shows that the most severe problems that confront the belligerents, and especially the intercourse of nations, are not those that arise during the time of combat, but rather those that develop in the years of slow reorganization and rebuilding that follow. Confidence lies at the bottom of commerce and trade as well as of international amity. That confidence has been destroyed. It must be restored, and common observation and the experience of history tell us that it is through the peaceful activity of the business elements of the world—manufacturers, traders, bankers and the like—that the diplomacy necessary for the rebuilding of this shattered confidence is to be sought.

It is also important to note that the terrific upheaval the World War occasioned was immediately followed by an outburst of national self-consciousness and an attitude of narrow self-interest as well as political instability. Fortunately, partly because of our geographic separation, partly because of the good common sense of the bulk of our population and partly because of our better fundamental conditions and organization we have escaped this economic instability which has threatened most of the European countries.

(2) In respect to our population a

similarly marked breach with the past may be noted. One of the outstanding characteristics of an industrial society is the mobility of its population. Years ago nations knew one another through their simple exchange of goods and Government publications and through the reports of polite travelers and diplomats. As the horse and wagon and the sailboat marked the first great transition in breaking down the isolation of different peoples, and the printing press the second, so the railroad, steamship, automobile and the airplane as well as the telephone, the telegraph and the radio have marked the third great transition.

Migrations of the world's inhabitants, of course, are not new in human history, and most of the great migrations of the past have been due to economic pressure forcing peoples to seek better economic conditions. Immigration has been one of the means not only of building up our population but also of building up our industries. This immigration, chiefly from Europe, grew by leaps and bounds until the outbreak of the war in 1914. What its growth was may be quickly realized by reference to the official immigration figures. In 1820, the first year for which we have data, the total immigration was 8,385; by 1842 it had increased to 104,565. Five years later it had passed 200,000; by 1851 it was 379,466; by 1854, 427,833. In 1881 it had crossed the 600,000 mark, and a year later it was well over 700,000. In 1905, 1906, 1907, 1910, 1913 and 1914 it was over 1,000,000 in each year.

The war naturally put a stop to the movement. In 1918 it was 110,618, but two years later it was already climbing and was at 430,001, and in 1921 it was 805,228. That year, 1921, is noteworthy because it witnessed the introduction of a new policy of immigration control. Until then free immigration to the United States was permitted, except for Chinese, Japanese and East Indians, and those defectives, dependent or delinquent or likely to become so after their admission. The

1921 law set up an artificial barrier in the form of an annual quota limited to 3 per cent. of the total number of nationals of each foreign country resident in the United States as shown by the census of the year 1910. This was followed by further restriction in 1924, the percentage being reduced from three to two and the base year for computing annual quotas being changed from 1910 to 1890. What the influence of these restrictions has been may be gleaned from the fact that whereas the average immigrant inflow into the United States for the five-year period 1909 to 1914 was somewhat over 925,000 in each fiscal year, under the Immigration act of 1921 this was reduced to 357,000, and by the act of 1924 to about 168,000.

As was intended, the law has already turned the incoming tide against the Southern European and in favor of the Northern European immigration. Among other immediate results have been a scaling down in our population growth, a marked curtailment in the immigrant inflow from Europe, and thus the introduction of a factor making for stabilization of our population.

#### LABOR CONTENTED

(3) Labor in the United States is well off and the outlook is for maintaining, if not improving, the high standard of income and well-being attained by the American wage earner. Actual weekly money earnings of employes in manufacturing industries were in May 115 per cent. above those before the war. Measured by the purchasing value of these earnings in terms of the same standard of living as prevailed in 1914, but discounted by the rise in retail prices, the wage earner was in May 30 per cent. better off than he was in 1914 and over 10 per cent. better off than even at the peak of wage earnings in 1920. The immediate outlook is for the maintenance of present levels of "real" wages and on the whole a continuance of the slow but steady rise which has been the dominant trend since 1840. In this connection it may be noted that, despite poor business

conditions in 1924, there was no general tendency to reduce wage levels, as has been customary under similar conditions in the past.

This better economic position of the wage earner is only one of the evidences of a period that promises relative industrial peace. Without any spirit of jingoism, but because the facts so indicate, we may say that labor conditions in the United States are better than anywhere in the world. In every country of industrial consequence the problem of unemployment has been grave since the armistice.

Comparing the condition of those who are employed, we note that our own wage earners are the best off in the world. The International Labor Office of the League of Nations publishes figures regularly showing how the wage earners in different countries compare in respect to the purchasing power of their wages. The quantities of food consumption, with allowances for rents, are taken as the basis for comparison, and typical cities in different countries are selected. Taking Philadelphia as 100, the comparative real wages of other cities in the world at the beginning of 1925 were:

Philadelphia .....	100
Sydney, Australia.....	70
Ottawa, Canada.....	69
London, England.....	45
Copenhagen, Denmark.....	41
Oslo, Norway.....	38
Amsterdam, Holland.....	37
Stockholm, Sweden.....	36
Paris, France.....	33
Berlin, Germany.....	29
Prague, Czechoslovakia.....	29
Brussels, Belgium.....	28
Lodz, Poland.....	27
Rome, Italy.....	23
Vienna, Austria.....	23
Warsaw, Poland.....	23
Milan, Italy.....	21

Because the American working community is the best off in the world, the problem of trade union organization is not so serious in the United States. During recent years the most noticeable phase of American trade unionism is, indeed, its growing conservatism. The

unions recognize that organized agencies in a community must be servants, and not masters, and that the social good must stand above individual aggrandizement. There is no labor vote to be delivered in the United States because the American workingman will not submit to domination and autocratic rule, whether the autocratic rule be the rule of the political boss, the employer or the labor leader. Similarly, the Communist movement among American workmen has not shown the least sign of becoming a real danger.

(4) Of potent significance is the general leveling up of productive efficiency in the United States. Greater foresight and wider recognition that quantity output by machine is cheaper than output by hand, coupled with the fact that a cheaper foreign labor supply, through immigration, is no longer available and that wages are high, are leading to increased mechanization of industry and more efficient managerial and technical organization. This is particularly true in those branches of activity where muscular power has been the main requirement. For example, where a decade or more ago the digging and repairing of streets and highways and the lifting and carrying of heavy loads were accomplished through the agency of human labor, machine power is now employed. The rule promises to be that wherever possible a mechanical hand will replace a human hand and mechanical power will supersede human strength. The growth of machine power in our manufacturing industries is already shown by the fact that in 1869 installed primary power amounted to 2,346,142 horsepower, or 1.14 horsepower per wage earner; in 1919 it had jumped to 29,504,792, or 3.24 per wage earner.

#### TRUSTS' BENEFICENT SIDE

(5) The decade from 1880 to 1890 saw a great integration of industries in the United States. Many combinations of producing organizations were formed, in consequence of which the threat of monopoly loomed so large that popular

reaction set in. The Sherman Anti-Trust law and other similar controlling legislation were the direct result. In the last thirty years public opinion has undergone considerable change because, instead of monopolistic control, serviceability to the public became and today is the chief aim in combinations. Whereas in the past the power of these agencies for evil was primarily emphasized, today it is recognized that there is in them much potency for good. The consequence is that we are now embarking on an era of consolidations of railroads and shipping lines, of combinations in agriculture, in trade and other fields. In 1904 there were 216,180 manufacturing establishments in the country. Of these 51,097, or 23.6 per cent., were corporations. In 1919 the corresponding figures were 290,105 and 13.5 per cent. At first glance this percentage seems small. Corporations, it would seem, are not growing in importance. It is when we compare figures for wage-earners and for value of products that the true situation becomes evident. In 1904 there were in the United States 5,468,383 wage-earners, of whom over three million, or 70.6 per cent., were employed by corporations; and in 1919 there were 9,096,372, with nearly eight million, or 86.5 per cent., employed by corporations. That is, in 1919, corporations comprising but 31.5 per cent. of the total number of manufacturing establishments employed 86.5 per cent. of the total wage-earners in the manufacturing industries. Looking at the value of products we see that in 1919 the same 31.5 per cent. controlled 87.7 per cent. of the total value of products of all manufacturing industries.

This change is significant not only from the viewpoint of production. A veritable revolution is taking place in distribution also. The growth of the chain store for the distribution of groceries, drugs, cigars and cigarettes, candy and other articles of common household use, the spread of the mail

order house for the direct sale to consumer of almost every article within the range of household need, the tendency of many manufacturers to disregard the traditional machinery of distribution and sell their goods direct through their own retail stores, is a serious problem for many elements heretofore deriving their livelihood as intermediaries between maker and consumer. On the other hand, it is proving its advantages and making possible not only more regular production, but also cheapening the ultimate cost. The popularity of this direct method of distribution is likely to grow to a very large extent.

(6) Finally, there is our increasing interest in international affairs. This interest, instead of subsiding, must of necessity increase. That economic tendencies, problems and influences are international in character and relation was recognized in the past but generally as a matter of abstract observation in parlor, study or schoolroom rather than as a practical conviction. The war and post-war situation have shown that the welfare of our industries is woven with the warp and woof of international welfare. Whether or not we can maintain a status of international political isolation, we surely cannot maintain a status of international economic isolation. Thinking more especially of Europe, we cannot expect order and prosperity in the United States so long as there are disorder and disorganization in Europe.

Viewed in this broad light, and taking into account the major tendencies here touched upon as likely to influence the trend of economic development, it is evident that the economic progress of the United States has not only not run its course but that we are at the beginning of a new period in our economic life during which not only will further development be made but there is also every promise that our people will reap the fruit of a well-developed, well-ordered industrial organization.

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# Heirs to the Vikings in America

By EARL CHRISTMAS

A magazine writer and publicist residing in Minnesota who has specially investigated the history of the Norwegian immigrants in the United States

THE centennial of the arrival in America of the first party of Norwegians to sail across the Atlantic in quest of a new home was celebrated with all due ceremony both in the United States and Norway in July, 1925. This was an event of historical importance in both countries, but especially significant in the United States, as was proved by the presence of President Coolidge at the celebration at Minneapolis on June 8.

The historical antecedents are full of interest. On the morning of July 4, 1825, the little sloop *Restaurationen* sailed out of the harbor in Stavanger, Norway, and headed for the open sea. An old boat of only 45 tons, it seemed a pitiful ship in which to brave the waters of the rough Atlantic, but there were intrepid souls aboard. On it were fifty-two men and women with hopes set upon America. Quakers most of them were, in the plain homespun of the Norwegian peasant. In the wilderness of the new land, so they said, they would find homes and every freedom to worship as they wished. Another Mayflower was on its way.

For fourteen weeks the little band battled unfriendly waves and wind. So small was the boat and so daring the venture that when at last they arrived in New York the Captain of the ship was arrested for having attempted to sail across the Atlantic with so many passengers on such a ship.

So began a migration from Norway to the United States that was to continue in a steady stream for a hundred years. No more interesting chapter is to be found in the making of America than the story of that migration. In

the background is the romance of a Viking ancestry, and on the moving screen before us the quest of a people for a home in a new and strange country. No skald ever wanted better material for a saga of this hardy and adventurous race from the mountains and the fjords.

## KLENG PEERSON—PIONEER

The families which came over on the sloop settled in Orleans County, New York. Kleng Pearson, who had come over several years before, had picked the site. To clear the land and build homes in this wild country brought many hardships, but the settlers persevered, and soon letters began to go back to relatives in the homeland telling of the opportunities in this new country. Pearson himself set out afoot for the West, seeking new sites for settlement. He walked across much of the Middle West and covered more than 2,000 miles before he returned to lead the way to the second important settlement of Norwegians on the Fox River in La Salle County, Illinois.

Kleng Pearson was a rare genius. Of a restless, roving disposition, he has been described as a "Viking who was born a few centuries after the Viking period." For something like forty years he served as a pathfinder for Norwegian immigrants. During this time he traveled all over the Mississippi valley and made a number of trips back to Norway. Wherever he went he made converts, for he was a marvelous storyteller and he had great faith in America. One night, after a long, weary tramp over the trackless prairie west of Chicago, he lay down as usual to sleep on

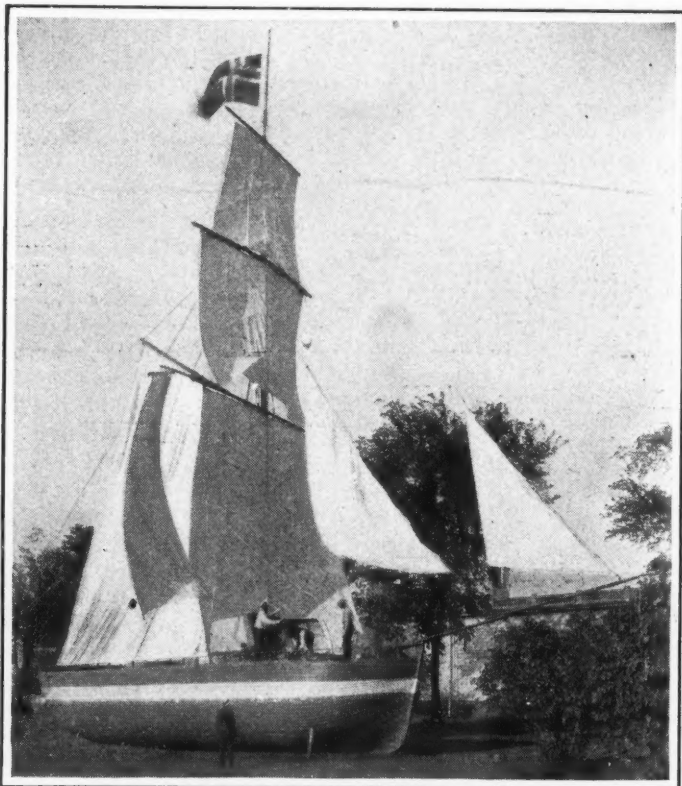
the ground, and while lying there had a vision. "He dreamed," says Professor Rasmus B. Anderson, "that he saw the wild prairie changed into a cultivated region, teeming with all kinds of grain and fruit most beautiful to behold; that splendid houses and barns stood all over the land, occupied by a rich and prosperous people." Peerson interpreted this as a token from the Almighty that his people should settle there.

The Fox River settlement prospered. The tide of immigration increased. The Muskego and Hoshkonong settlements followed in Wisconsin and the Decorah settlement in Iowa. The Norse were coming in large numbers now and the waves spread out to the north and west, from Illinois and Iowa over Minnesota and the Dakotas. Each new group went out a little further into the wilderness. A passion for the land drove them ever out to the frontiers. Much of Minnesota, Wisconsin and the Dakotas was settled by these Norse pioneers. It was a task that called for courage and resourcefulness, this conquest of the Northwest, and these descendants of the Vikings did not shrink from hardship or danger.

Today there are about 2,500,000 Norwegians in the United States, or about as many as there are in Norway. Most of them are well-to-do, speak the English language and are quite as much a part of the American people as their neighbors. In the Northwest,

where they are found in largest numbers, they have taken a leading rôle in civic and governmental affairs and have made no small contribution to the social fabric of the country. The great majority are on farms, where their thrift and industry have won prosperity. It has been estimated that the farms owned by Norse farmers in Minnesota are worth \$1,000,000,000 and their holdings in South Dakota are almost as large. Through much of Iowa, Wisconsin and these Northwest States, big barns and comfortable homes stand out as one drives along the country roads, eloquent evidence of the effort these Norse farmers have expended and the rewards they have obtained. Assuredly, Kleng Peerson's dream has come true!

Just a hundred years ago this began. It is true that some Norwegians had come to America before the time of the



A copy, exact as to size, of the Restaurationen, the sloop, 54 feet in length, in which the first Norwegian immigrants crossed the ocean. The replica was built as an exhibit in St. Paul, Minn.

Restaurationen; but the sloop party, representing the first group to sail, is credited with really beginning the migration. Accordingly, the centennial of the Restaurationen's journey this year provides the occasion for a series of successive celebrations both in the United States and Norway, paying tribute to the hardy Norse pioneers in America.

In St. Paul, at the Norse-American Centennial held in June, representatives of three Governments were in attendance and thousands participated. Subsequently, in Oslo (Christiania) a week was devoted to festivities in connection with the centennial, and a big celebration was held July 4 in Stavanger, commemorating the sailing of the sloop out of that port.

The Government of Norway sent official representatives to attend the centennial in St. Paul. Canada sent a representative. President Coolidge journeyed out from Washington to pay tribute to the part the Norwegians have had in the making of America. One hundred thousand men and women of Norse descent gathered from many States.

Reunions of the "bygdelags" were held. Exhibits were displayed recalling pioneer days and showing contributions of the Norse. A pageant pictured the story of the Norse immigrant in America. The story of Olaf Trygvesson, who brought Christianity to Norway, and other historical and legendary figures in that interesting background of the Norse were recalled. But the pageant dealt chiefly with the pioneers in America and the theme was written around the life of Colonel Hans C. Heg.



The first church built by Norwegians in America. Hewn from logs by the settlers near Muskego, Wis., in 1843, it is now carefully preserved on the campus of Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.

It was not necessary to go into fiction to get a character to typify the story of the Norsemen in America. Heg, an immigrant, raised and commanded the Fifteenth Wisconsin in the Civil War. This was a regiment composed mostly of Norwegians, many of them just arrived in this country. The regiment proved a rock of strength in many a fight, particularly in the bloody two-day battle at Chickamauga. It was in this battle that Colonel Heg, waving his hat and giving orders for a renewed attack on the intrenchments of the enemy, fell mortally wounded.

#### ROLE IN WORLD HISTORY

The Norwegians did not come to the United States empty handed. Though nearly all were poor in worldly goods, they brought a rich heritage. Norway has had an illustrious place in song and story. It is only a little country, less than half the size of Texas, and nine-tenths of that area uninhabitable, but it has had a big place in history.

Rolf Ganger (Rollo) and his conquering Vikings went to France, where they remained and rooted themselves in the most fertile soil of that land, in Normandy. They became Frenchmen. In time the Norsemen, Normans now, crossed the channel to England for an-

other great conquest. In England they became Englishmen, mingled their blood with that of the Anglo-Saxons and influenced profoundly the course of the English-speaking races. From the seeds they planted sprang the Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights.

Professor O. M. Norlie of Luther College says that England itself is more Scandinavian than Saxon. B. F. De Costa, another American scholar, says that "we fable in a great measure when we speak of our Saxon inheritance. It is rather from the Norsemen that we derived our vital energy, our freedom of thought and, in a measure that we do not suspect as yet, our strength of speech."

Though emigration from Norway has always been great, the Norse never established a colonial empire. Rather the Norwegians who emigrated merged with the people in the land in which they settled. In Ireland they became Irish and in Scotland they became Scotch. Carlyle was called the "Old

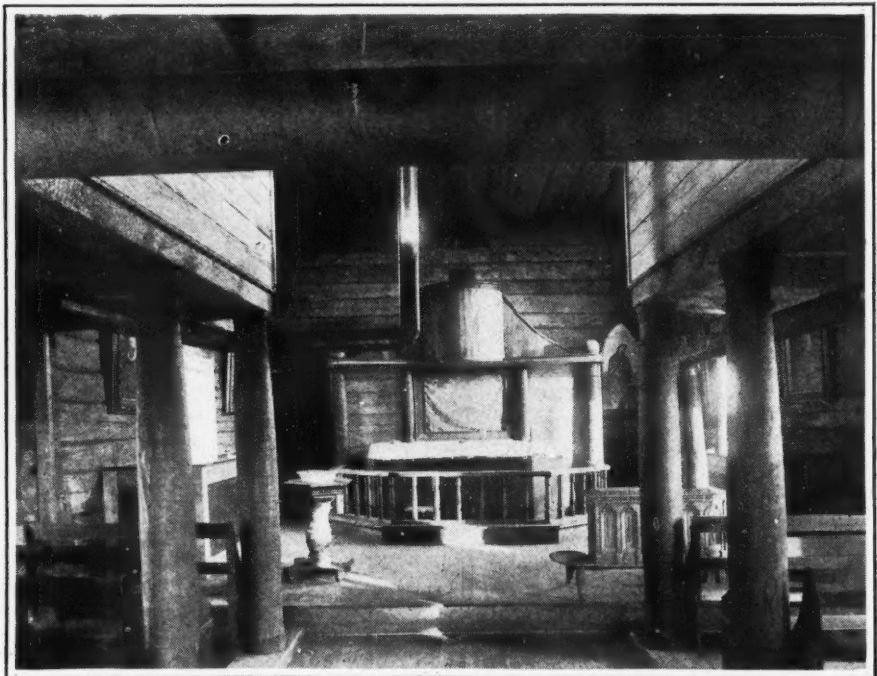
Norseman" because of his descent from Viking stock, and Welles traces George Washington back to his Norse ancestors, who settled in Yorkshire in 1030.

Racially, the Northmen were very near kin to the Angles and Saxons, all being Teutons. Originally, then, Norwegians and Englishmen all belonged to the same family and at one time spoke much the same language.

The narrow confines of their native country in part has prompted the great migration from Norway. But that is not all. Deep in the breast of the Norwegian there seems to be imbedded still something of that spirit from Viking days, that inborn urge to migrate, to seek the unexplored. Five hundred years before Columbus discovered America, so the old sagas relate, Leif Ericson found the New World.

President Coolidge, speaking in St. Paul, said:

These sons of Thor and Odin and the great free North shape themselves in the mind's eye as very princes of high and hardy ad-



Interior of the log church at Muskego, Wis., the first church built by Norwegians in America



venture. From Norway to Iceland, from Iceland to Greenland, from Greenland to the mainland, step by step they worked their way across the Atlantic. They found the western ocean, and it was a Norseman who first discovered Behring Strait and demonstrated that there is no land connection between Asia and North America. One wonders where these Norsemen would turn for adventure if the earth ever should be so completely charted that exploration offered no more challenges.

Only a hardy, vigorous race could have emerged from this background. Physically they are a handsome people, with the bluest eyes and the lightest complexion of any people except possibly the Swedes. In education and culture they reached a high level long ago. Deeply religious, they maintain high moral standards. Crime is rare in Norway. Illiteracy virtually does not exist. Thrifty, independent and democratic, they were fitted from the first to take an active rôle in America.

While maintaining to a large extent the racial characteristics of their ancestors, the Norse readily became imbued with American ideals. Between 6,000 and 7,000 fought in the Civil War. In the World War at least four of the seventy-eight men who received Congressional Medals of Honor were of Norse descent.

Quite a few Norwegians have intermarried with other races and thus there has been added an element of virility to our composite make-up. About 80 per cent. of the people of Norse descent now in this country were born in America and so have grown up with American institutions.

Though most of the Norwegians have gone into farming they have also engaged in lumbering, building, fishing, shipping and many other active occupations. As J. N. Kildahl once said: "The Norwegians came here to work and not to put up peanut stands." At present it is estimated that about 2,000,000 Norwegians, or 80 per cent. of the Norwegian population in this country, are engaged in agricultural pursuits.

#### NORWEGIANS HIGH IN PUBLIC SERVICE

Nothing so illustrates the part the Norse have taken as their place in the



A Norwegian girl, now in America, dressed in the traditional costume of her native land

public service. Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota and Montana—an extent of territory comprising one-seventh of the area of the United States—now have at their heads citizens of Norwegian descent. Governor Theodore Christianson of Minnesota is of Norse origin, as was Governor J. A. O. Preus before him. In North Dakota Governor A. G. Sorlie sits in a chair just vacated by another man of Norwegian ancestry, R. A. Nestos. Governor J. E. Erickson of Montana and Governor Carl Gunderson of South Dakota are of Viking stock, and the mother of Governor J. J. Blaine of Wisconsin came from Norway. Altogether there have been twelve Governors of Norse descent.

Not all Norwegians have become United States Senators, but the story of

Knute Nelson is suggestive of many who have played humbler rôles.

A widowed mother and her 5-year-old boy crossed the Atlantic in 1843. One day on the ship, finding his mother in tears over their dismal prospect, the lad said, "Don't cry, mother; we are poor now, but when I grow up I shall be next to the king." That was Knute Nelson. He sold newspapers on the streets of Chicago. He fought in the Union Army as a boy of 18. He was left for dead at Fort Hudson, La., and but for the kindness of some Southern women who found him he would have been buried there. How he was elected to office after office and rose to be United States Senator now is a familiar story. Passing over the minor offices, he was elected to Congress three times, was twice chosen Governor of Minnesota and for nearly thirty years served that State in the United States Senate.

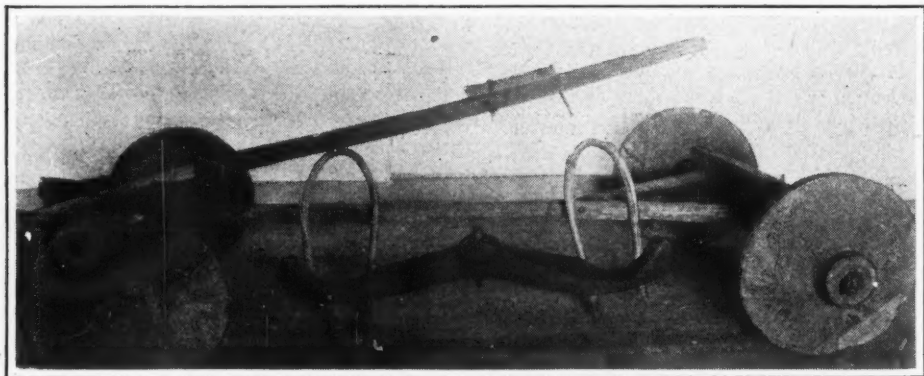
Senator Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota and Senator Peter Norbeck of South Dakota are descended from the Vikings. The mother of Senator Reed Smoot was a Norwegian. Seven men of Norse descent have served in the Senate and twenty-two in the House of Representatives, while scores have been elected to smaller offices.

Norse-Americans have won important places in other fields. A number have become noted engineers. The late Victor F. Lawson, publisher of The Chicago Daily News, was the son of a Nor-

wegian immigrant. Others have made their mark as writers and some as painters.

The Norwegians in America, I may add by way of conclusion, have always been great lovers of music. It could hardly be otherwise, reared as they have been with the music of Grieg in their ears and the memories of Ole Bull still fresh in their minds. Choral music especially has appealed to them. There is hardly a community with any considerable number of Norwegians that does not have its singing society. Some of these societies have been in existence for fifty years. Nothing so typifies this phase of their nature as the famous choir of St. Olaf College, whose matchless singing of the stirring old hymns on concert tours throughout the country has proved such a refreshing marvel in these days of jazz and tin-pan music. There are those who will say that Dr. F. Melius Christianson, director of the choir, is without an equal in this field.

Another thing the Norse brought to this country, and that was their religion. Hardly were the first clearings made when churches were built. Something of the same devotion marked their attitude toward education. One of the first things the pioneer farmers did when they got a foothold was to raise \$75,000, a tremendous sum in those days, to start Luther College at Decorah, Iowa. After that came St. Olaf College, and a long list of other colleges and seminaries.



Wagon, with wheels made from cross-cuts of logs, used by the Norwegian settlers in Wisconsin in the forties

# Santo Domingo Under the Revised Treaty

By HENRY KITTREDGE NORTON

IN 1904 the ship of State of the Dominican Republic was out of control and perilously near the rocks. Foreign creditors who held defaulted obligations of a face value of some \$30,000,000 were pressing for settlement and their Governments were threatening to take over the custom houses and enforce payment. President Roosevelt submitted a proposed arrangement to the United States Senate, but that body refused to assume any responsibility despite the possible threat to the Monroe Doctrine. Roosevelt was not so unconcerned. He entered into an agreement with the Dominican Government, which, as a *modus vivendi*, went into operation the following year without the approval of the Senate.

The Dominican custom houses were placed in charge of a Receiver General nominated by the President of the United States. The expenses of his office were not to exceed five per cent. of the collections. The debts were, after investigation, written down to about \$16,000,000 and a loan of \$20,000,000 was arranged to refund this amount. The Receiver General was to pay the interest and an annual deposit of \$200,000 toward the sinking fund before transferring the balance of the customs receipts to the Dominican officials. In addition to this, one-half of the gross collections in excess of \$3,000,000 in any year was to be paid into the sinking fund. This agreement served to appease foreign creditors. Somewhat later the United States Senate was brought to see its value and approved a Convention in that sense with the Dominican Republic in 1907. The loan was made the following year. Since that time additional loans amounting to \$13,361,300 have been made, payments of principal and

interest on these also being handled by the Receiver-General.

The substitution of an honest administration in the custom houses combined with other causes to bring new prosperity to Santo Domingo. There was a general revival of business. Production was increased; exports expanded; imports took on new volume. As a result the customs receipts reached unprecedented figures. The share of the Government under the new arrangement was greater than its total receipts under the old. The political effect of this unexpected prosperity upon the Government of the republic was disastrous. Money to spend had for decades in Santo Domingo meant fighting for the privilege of spending it. The cycle of revolution was speeded by the affluence of the Treasury, and at last, in 1916, the United States was forced to intervene. "The Military Government of the United States in Santo Domingo" superseded the republican authorities and administered the country until Sept. 17, 1924, when the marines were withdrawn.

The reins of Government were then handed over to an Administration headed by General Horacio Vasquez and Señor Federico Velasquez, who had been duly elected as President and Vice President at elections supervised by United States officials. This Administration is still in office. Opposed to it is a group which on occasion has been able to muster a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of the Dominican Legislature. This group criticizes the waste, the favoritism and the graft of the Administration and, in traditional re-

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The writer of this article, a graduate of Dartmouth who has practiced law in California, has studied and written on economic conditions in many foreign countries.

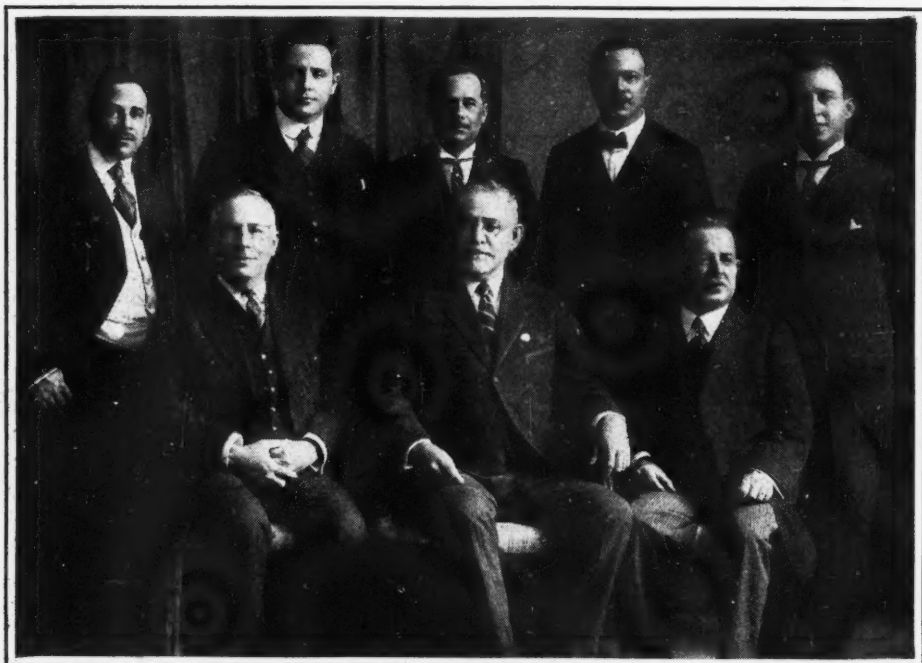
publican fashion, poses as the repository of all the political virtues.

In the State Department at Washington is a man who has devoted many years to the careful study of Santo Domingo. This man is Sumner Welles, High Commissioner for the Dominican Republic. In watching the progress of the republic, he came to the conclusion that it was paying off its indebtedness too rapidly. The provision of the 1907 convention which provided that one-half of the gross collections in excess of \$3,000,000 in any year should be paid into the amortization fund had resulted in almost quadrupling the annual sinking-fund payment originally contemplated. The country was therefore paying off its indebtedness at a rapid rate, when its proper development required that it use all available funds for public works and other internal improvements. It was therefore suggested that a new convention be drawn to supersede that of 1907.

Such a convention was secretly negotiated between High Commissioner

Welles and the Government of the Republic and signed on Dec. 27, 1924. This new convention contemplates the floating of a loan of \$25,000,000 to refund all outstanding bonds and leave a surplus of some \$10,000,000 to be devoted to "permanent public improvements and to other projects designed to further the economic and industrial development of the country." In addition to the minimum sinking-fund payment, the Receiver is to deposit ten per cent. of any gross collection in excess of \$4,000,000 in any year. The new convention is designed to have two results—to reduce the burden upon the Dominican Treasury and thus give the Government more current revenue, and to place about \$10,000,000 in the hands of the Administration for permanent improvements, and so forth.

In the meantime the new convention has inspired the Dominican opposition to heroic resistance. As soon as the convention was ratified by the United States Senate and the injunction of



President Horacio Vazquez of the Dominican Republic (seated in the centre) and his Cabinet



secrecy removed on Jan. 21, 1925, the Opposition sprang into action. On Jan. 25 seventeen of the thirty members of the Chamber of Deputies signed a "Pact of Honor" which read as follows:

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, representatives in the National Congress,

WHEREAS, the new treaty which it is planned to substitute for that of the year 1907 involves serious danger for the sovereignty of the nation;

AND WHEREAS, the loan of twenty-five millions, which is the basis and the motive for the new treaty, implies the prolongation of the state of subordination to the United States for a period of time ranging from twenty-five years as a minimum and one hundred years as a maximum;

AND WHEREAS, the Dominican people has charged them in their collective capacity, to be faithful interpreters, at all times, of its aspirations and ideals;

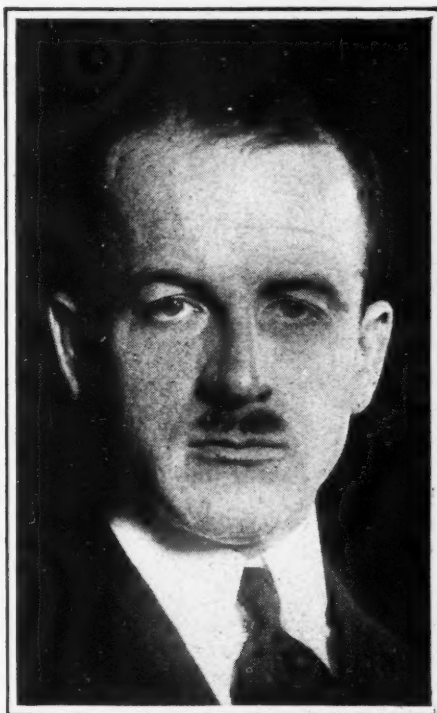
AND WHEREAS, the Dominican people has spontaneously manifested its unshakable decision to refuse its consent to the treaty and loan above referred to, while at the same time the most powerful mentalities of the country and groups of the highest moral ascendancy have declared against said treaty and loan, pointing out categorically the way which vigilant patriotism must follow;

NOW THEREFORE, do resolve, on our oath of honor, to vote against said treaty and loan as projected.

Signed in Santo Domingo, Jan. 25, 1925.  
(Signatures follow.)

As was to be expected, the reasons ascribed for opposing the convention were not that the signatories of the "Pact of Honor" and their friends were not to share in the expenditure of the large sums which would come to the Government under the convention. While everybody knows the impelling motive in such cases, it is still desirable to indulge in high-sounding phrases. We therefore have the magniloquent phrases quoted above.

A readjustment of the allotment of Government patronage served to align sufficient votes in the Dominican Senate for ratification of the convention, but the "Pact of Honor" halted it in the lower house. The Dominican Constitution requires ordinarily that two-thirds of the members of the Chamber be present to constitute a quorum for the trans-



Wide World Photos

SUMNER WELLES

United States High Commissioner for the Dominican Republic

action of business. A smaller number, however, may adjourn to a subsequent day they may fix. At the session held pursuant to the second adjournment, a bare majority may act. The first move of the "Pact" men, as they are called, was to absent themselves from the session of the Chamber at which the convention was scheduled for consideration. Those present twice adjourned to a day fixed. The meeting pursuant to the second adjournment was held on May 25. This the "Pact" men attended. There were twenty-nine members of the Chamber present, the one absent member being detained on account of illness.

#### OPPOSITION TACTICS

All those in favor of the convention wore red ribbons and the opposition leaders were dismayed to find that three of those who had signed the "Pact of Honor" were likewise decorated. Many

of the beribboned members were obviously armed and Teófilo Ferrer, the negro spokesman of the "Pacta" group, stated from the floor of the Chamber that he and his followers believed their lives were in danger and demanded that the presiding officer, in the exercise of his legal authority so to do, should direct the removal of all armed persons from the Chamber. Upon the refusal of the presiding officer to take this step, Ferrer and his thirteen loyal companions withdrew, leaving fifteen members in session. This was not a majority and could not act under any interpretation of the Constitution. They considered taking action, however, and one of the "Pacta" men returned to the Chamber to protest. While he was present the vote was hastily taken on the convention. The record showed sixteen present, fifteen ayes and one not voting.

The Government at once announced ratification of the convention and through the usual official channels notified the United States of such ratification. The contention of the Govern-

ment was that, this being a session pursuant to a second adjournment, a majority could act and that when the "Pacta" emissary entered the Chamber there was a majority present and the proceedings were therefore quite regular. The "Pacta" men, on the other hand, declare that, as they had attended the session of May 25, and other business had been regularly transacted before the matter of the convention was reached, their departure could not serve to revive the series of adjournments already taken, but that two new adjournments must be had before a majority could act under the constitutional provision.

Article 100 of the Dominican Constitution provides that every international treaty entered into by the Republic shall contain the following clause:

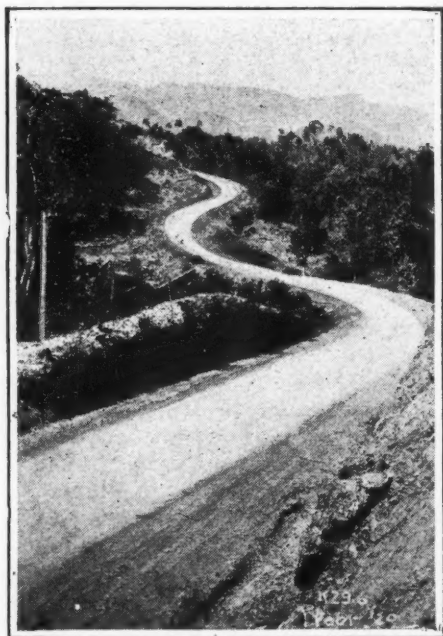
All differences which may arise between the contracting parties shall be submitted to arbitration before an appeal to war.

The clause in the new convention dealing with arbitration reads:

The determination of any controversy which may arise between the contracting parties in the carrying out of the provisions of this convention shall, should the two Governments be unable to come to an agreement through diplomatic channels, be by arbitration.

The discrepancy in the wording of the two clauses, the Opposition contends, operates to the disadvantage of their country and invalidates the convention.

On two grounds, then, first, that it was not legally approved by the Chamber of Deputies, and, second, that it does not contain the arbitration clause prescribed by the Constitution, the new convention is denounced as a nullity by the opponents of the Government of the day in Santo Domingo. They have served formal notice of invalidity on both Governments concerned and have declared that so far as they are concerned they will not recognize it as binding upon the Dominican Republic. In Washington, nevertheless, the records show an official notification of due ratification by the Dominican Congress and the convention is considered to be in full force and effect.



Part of an American-built road in Santo Domingo

# The Politics of Missionary Work in China

By BENJAMIN H. WILLIAMS

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh; author of "The Protection of American Citizens in China"

THAT the scientific and humanitarian work performed by the Christian missions in China should be forgotten by the Chinese nationalist when he strikes at them in his campaign against Western imperialism, is a matter of regret. This excellent work is intrinsically not a matter of politics. The suspicions of the Chinese that there is a connection between Governments and missions are, however, not entirely without historical foundation. Every considerable interest which a country develops abroad has its reactions upon foreign policies, and missions are no exception to this rule. With a heavy capital investment, an annual contribution which runs as high as \$45,000,000 per year for Protestant missions and is much more than one-half of the world's expenditure for such missions, and with a large and devoted personnel, it can be seen that the American missionary forces have a valuable equipment at stake subject to the political vicissitudes in foreign lands. There is an additional consideration which will seem to some people vastly more important than the physical plant and organization involved, that is, the purpose of the church public to convert the world to Christianity, an aim which, to the more zealous, greatly transcends other national or international endeavors.

An emergency may arise in which governmental policy may affect the missions. This may appear in the form of a need of political support, on the one hand, or, on the other, of a fear of an aggressive policy which would prove ruinous to this vast equipment and these evangelical plans. In either contingency the missionary representatives

might claim an audience at Washington or resort to the millions of church members and the extensively read Christian periodicals, which are a substantial machine for influencing public opinion. Thus Church may touch State in the field of foreign policies far more intimately than is possible in domestic affairs. There is also the reciprocal possibility that the Government may use the missionary organization as a means for accomplishing its political ends. The history of the diplomacy of Western nations in China presents many illustrations of all phases of these questions.

The Golden Rule cannot be made to support the imperialist or to harmonize with "gunboat diplomacy." If any applicable doctrine can be derived from the teachings of Jesus, it is that of international laissez-faire and good-will. Yet it is one of the strange paradoxes of history that some of those who have gone forth to teach this doctrine have been made use of by scheming Governments to set forward their plans for political domination over weaker peoples.

The French Government has made greater and more consistent use of the missionary in acquiring political and economic rights in China than has any other Government. Until the separation of Church and State in 1905, France had claimed to be the special protector of Roman Catholic missionaries of whatever nationality. This was "the cornerstone of our politics in the Far East," said Henri Cordier, a well-known French Oriental scholar and historian. "The exercise of this protectorate," he continued, "has been much less on our part a homage rendered to religion than one of the factors of our politics."

The murder of the Abbé Chapdelaine in Kwangsi, early in 1856, was the immediate occasion for the commencement of hostilities against the Chinese by the French in that year. French Indo-China was acquired after a series of interventions to avenge the murder of Catholic missionaries. The killing of French missionaries in Szechwan brought forth demands from the French Consul at Chungking for mining rights in six districts of Szechwan and an indemnity of 1,200,000 taels. The concession for the railway from Pakhoi to Nanning was obtained by the French because of the murder of a missionary in Kwangsi in 1898.

Germany came late into the game of world politics, but here, as in industry, she was quick to learn from the more experienced nations and promptly surpassed her teachers. On Nov. 1, 1897, a band of Chinese robbers visited the little village of Kiachwang in the southwest corner of Shantung. During the course of the raid they killed two German Jesuit priests. Germany then spurned the claims of France as the sole protector of Roman Catholic missionaries. Some time previously the German Government had been seeking a naval station on the Chinese coast and

this incident provided an excellent opportunity. The harbor of Kiaochow was selected. A force of marines landed, expelled the Chinese and seized the forts at Tsingtao on the harbor. A naval expedition was dispatched from Germany; and the Kaiser is reported to have spoken on this occasion as follows:

I am conscious that it is my duty to extend and enlarge what my predecessors have bequeathed to me. \* \* \* May every one in those distant regions be aware that the German Michael has firmly planted his shield with the device of the German eagle upon the soil of China, in order once and for all to give his protection to all who ask for it. Should any one essay to detract from our just rights or to injure us, then up and at them with your mailed fist.

China was forced not only to yield an indemnity, to dismiss the Governor of Shantung from the public service and to repay the expense of the German occupation of Tsingtao, but also to give to Germany the sole right to construct railways and to open coal mines in Shantung, together with a lease of Kiaochow Bay and the land on both sides of the entrance, including Tsingtao. Thus the bayonet followed the crucifix into Shantung. The bewildered Chinese were listening to two very



Mission hospital, Suining, China.

Ewing Galloway



diverse doctrines from the Occident; and there can be no doubt that the present suspicion directed against Western peoples, a suspicion which extends unfortunately to missionaries, has its roots in the distrust created by brutal aggressions based upon injuries to those who taught the precepts of Christian forgiveness. In this diplomacy the material interest dominated over the spiritual and the prospects of missionary developments were undoubtedly sacrificed upon the altars of trade, finance and empire.

For a long time Protestant missions have loomed large among American interests in the Far East. There is, however, no evidence of any desire on the part of the United States to extend its domination in that area through pretended aid to missionaries. Our policy of protection has, it is true, been long and energetically pursued, sometimes, as will appear, in derogation of Chinese sovereignty. Protection has, however, been the chief aim of the American policy and it has not been made a pretext for the acquisition of territory.

#### DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT OF MISSIONS

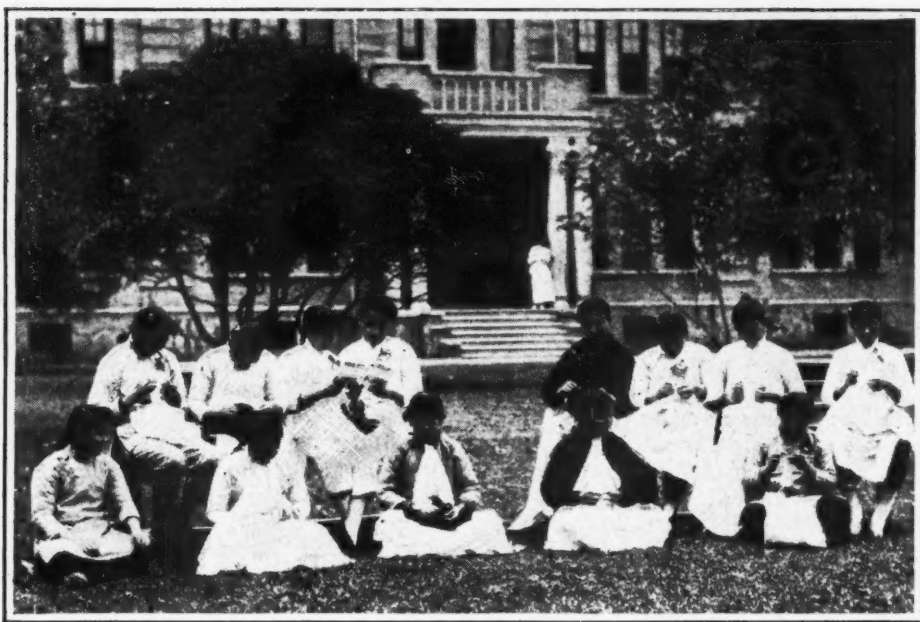
There is another class of governmental actions in which there has been no direct ulterior motive of acquiring territory or economic advantages, but in which the purpose has been to offer diplomatic protection for the benefit of the missionary and frequently at his request. The acts of violence of the Chinese against foreign missions constitute a long and significant series of events. The correspondence of the Department of State conducted for the protection of American missionaries on this account extends over the period of our treaty relations with China, involves scores of cases and, if compiled, would constitute several respectable volumes. When the Chinese populace, because of the interference of the mission buildings with the "feng shui," the great wind and water forces, or because of the wild rumors of the poisoning of Chinese children in the mission, or for whatever other cause, has risen in wrath and

swept through the mission gates, destroying property and, on rare occasions, life, the State Department has been prompt to demand pecuniary compensation, the punishment of mob leaders and disciplinary action against the Chinese officials within whose jurisdiction the lawlessness has occurred. At one time, in fact, the American Minister to China favored the decapitation of the Chinese official in every case of riotous murder. "The first head demanded by a foreign power after a riot," said Minister Denby in explaining these extreme views, "should be, not that of the obscure rioter but of the highest official in the locality." The instructions of the Department of State were not so graphically worded, but the Minister was requested to demand of China that she should

hold responsible and promptly punish, not only all individuals or officials directly or remotely involved upon the occurrence of any riot in which peaceable American citizens have been injured, but also the Viceroy or Governor of the province in which it has occurred and who is directly responsible to the throne for the acts of every one of his subordinates, although his only fault may be ignorance.

Had this country been willing and able to enforce in the United States the same principles of liability which were requested of China, many an American Governor or Sheriff would have gone to prison, or even to the gallows, for acts of violence committed against foreigners within his jurisdiction.

The foregoing diplomatic actions have been especially applicable to missionaries, who, from the nature of their calling, frequently sojourn among unfriendly peoples and, because of their zeal, are not repelled by hazards. Thus they have been peculiarly the victims of violence and the recipients of protection. Nevertheless it cannot be said that the Government of the United States has shown partiality for missionaries as against other citizens, or that it has shown any inclination to single them out for special protection. In fact, the State Department has sometimes discouraged missionaries from making



Girls in a mission school in China

Ewing Galloway

claims through diplomatic channels, so that there might be avoided "the appearance that our official establishments in China exist largely to sustain efforts for the propagation of religion." It cannot be expected, however, that, as the Chinese become aware of the unequal doctrines of protection that have been forced upon them, they will overlook the fact that these doctrines have been applied mainly in cases dealing with Christian missionaries.

Owing to the attitude of certain European missionaries, the Chinese Government has sometimes made the claim that they sought to establish a quasi-official status for themselves in order to withdraw the native Christians from the jurisdiction of the local Government by interfering in lawsuits and otherwise. Such a situation has been clearly opposed to the spirit of American institutions, for in this country no religious faith can claim a favored position in the eyes of the law. The following frequently quoted language of the Secretary of State indicates the American view:

The President will see with deep regret

any attempt to place a foreign ecclesiastic, as such, on a different footing from other foreigners residing in China. It is a fundamental principle in the United States that all persons, of every sect, faith, or race, are equal before the law. Prelates, priests and ministers can claim equal protection here, and enjoy equal rank in the eyes of the law. The United States asks no more in China than it can confer at home.

#### SOME CASES OF OFFICIAL PROTECTION

There have been cases, however, in which the United States has given diplomatic protection to native Christians against the actions of the Chinese Government, although such a practice is contrary to the policies of Western nations in dealing with one another. In one instance this country brought about the exemption of native Protestants from the payment of certain taxes for local religious rites. It had been an ancient custom in the towns and villages throughout China for the people to assemble on certain days of the year for the purposes of worship and public amusement. Processions were conducted through the streets, bearing the images

of Chinese gods. Expensive incense was burned and theatrical performances and other ceremonies served to make a complete celebration. The expenses of the occasion were generally met by a tax levied by local officials.

In 1862 the French Government secured the exemption of all Roman Catholics from taxes of this sort. Thereafter the burden continued to fall upon the Protestant converts, as upon other Chinese. American missionaries protested to the local officials against this and complaints were sent to the American Minister. In 1881 the matter was taken up with the Chinese Foreign Office, with the result that Protestants were also relieved from the payment of the taxes. The taxation of non-believers to support a religion of the State has been resorted to in European countries and has not there been recognized as a ground for diplomatic intervention. Throughout the history of the relations of Western nations with China the principles which guide the intercourse among sovereign States in the Occident have been very largely ignored; and the Chinese are at present attempting to demonstrate that they should no longer be so treated. Where this unusual "weaker nation" diplomacy has been used to protect the missionary enterprise, the resentment of the Chinese against the diplomatic method is certain to operate in part against the mission itself.

Probably the outstanding action taken to promote the interests of missions was the incorporation of the "toleration clause" in the treaty of 1858 between the United States and China. This clause recited that, as the principles of Christianity teach men to do unto others as they would have others do unto them, thereafter no persons professing or teaching these doctrines should be persecuted on account of their faith. Prior to this there had been some persecution of native Christians, and it was an American missionary, Samuel Wells Williams, who, as Secretary of the American Legation, was primarily responsible for the incorporation of the clause in the treaty. The effect of the

clause was to place the protecting arm of the United States around the Chinese convert; and it was thus a real boon to missionary work. The provision was also included in the Chinese treaties with Great Britain, France and Russia, and became exceedingly important in subsequent diplomacy. Concerning it Mr. Williams later wrote: "If the Chinese had at all comprehended what was involved in these four toleration articles they would never have signed one of them."

Under this treaty stipulation the United States has subsequently protested against actions taken by Chinese officials discriminating against native converts. These treaty provisions made impossible the issuance of decrees prohibiting the teaching of Christianity in China; but they had the effect of interposing the hand of a foreign State between the Government of China and certain of the Chinese people.

The United States has also on several occasions presented claims to the Chinese Government for damages done to the property of native Christians during anti-missionary riots and has demanded the punishment of the Chinese rioters who had inflicted the damage against them. Thus, when in 1898 a native hospital assistant was killed in Szechwan during an attack on a mission, the American Minister demanded that the murderer should be executed. Accordingly, three of the principal rioters were arrested; one was sentenced to be beheaded and the other two to be beaten and transported.

#### MODERATING INFLUENCE OF MISSIONS

The nations which send forth missionaries are frequently the aggressive nations in world politics, while those who receive them may often be weak countries laboring under international servitudes. There sometimes comes a period in the history of missions to such countries when the rise of national feeling in the missionary field brings such an antipathy to the nationals of the stronger nations that the whole missionary enterprise is threatened with disas-

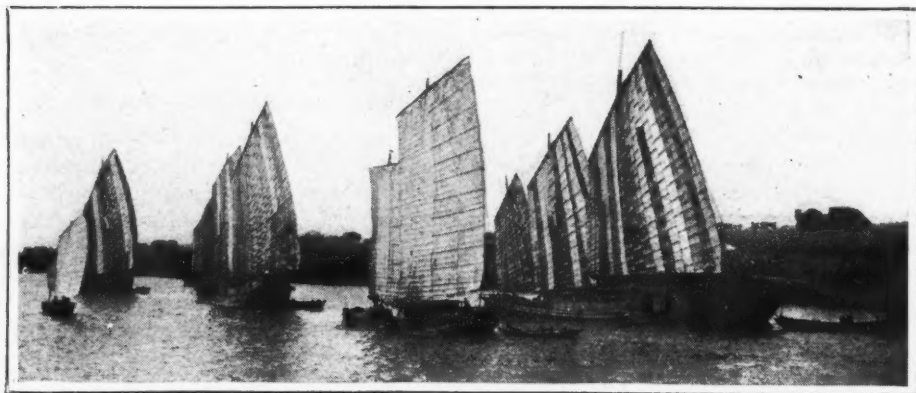
ter. American missionaries in Colombia in 1903 were placed in a precarious position by the Panama affair, and an American educator who served in Bogotá at the time reported that for a period it was inadvisable to go upon the streets. At such a time those who are working in the mission field undoubtedly feel that a moderation in policy will greatly assist their work. American missionaries in Mexico during the time when American occupation was being demanded from many quarters felt the effect of the bitterness of Mexicans toward the United States. Representatives of the mission boards, in testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on the Investigation of Mexican Affairs said that the boards were united in opposing armed intervention. Missionaries and native Christians were reported to be unanimously of the opinion that such an action by the United States would be a great blow to the work of the Protestant Church in Mexico.

More than once in China acts of aggression by the Western countries have had their reaction in violence against missions, the Boxer uprising being the most conspicuous. The present more restrained but more powerful nationalistic movement has given rise to the most serious apprehensions, and has already brought forth numerous expressions of a new attitude upon the part of the missionaries in that country. Whereas at one time most of the Chris-

tian workers felt that the treaty rights accorded to foreigners were just, and whereas they frequently invoked the aid of the American Minister, there are many indications that they now feel that both of these are dangerous to their work. The pressure upon the missionary comes in part from his own Chinese congregation, which, imbibing the wine of nationalism, demands an end to Western aggression. This demand, reinforced by the better judgment of the missionary, comes to be expressed in public communications from the mission workers in China to their fellow-Christians in the United States. The following statement of the secretarial staff of the Peking Y. M. C. A. is typical of these expressions:

While we have no desire to make hasty proposals for the betterment of the existing situation, our interest in Christian brotherhood and international good-will prompts us to inquire whether certain treaties conferring special privileges upon foreigners and which are a constant source of embarrassment and humiliation to the Chinese people do not stand in need of revision in view of the march of events in China, as well as in view of an emerging world conscience which is demanding that justice and fair play be substituted for the use of force in international affairs.

The churches have vast interests at stake, and they must realize that a sincere application of the principles of brotherly love at the present time is not only true Christianity—it is good policy.



Chinese junks on the Yangtze River

Publishers' Photo Service



# The Polish-Jewish Pact to End Anti-Semitism

By HERMAN BERNSTEIN

Author of "Celebrities of Our Time" and other books; formerly editor and now contributing editor, the Jewish Tribune

THE signing of the agreement between the Polish Government, headed by Prime Minister Grab-ski, and the Polish Jews, represented by the Kolo (Club) of Jewish Deputies in the Polish Sejm (Parliament), has been regarded as opening a new era in Poland's internal affairs. It has been hailed by the more liberal elements as the beginning of the end of anti-Semitism in Poland, while it has been denounced by the extremists among the Jews and the Poles as a worthless scrap of paper.

What is the significance of the Polish-Jewish agreement? Why was an agreement necessary between the Government and a portion of the population that, according to the Constitution, should have the same rights and the same duties as the other elements of the population of the Polish Republic? Why was such an agreement necessary between the Government and one of the minority nationalities in Poland, since the Polish Government had signed the special Treaty of Versailles for the protection of the rights of minorities?

The population of Poland includes about 3,500,000 Jews, a larger percentage of Jews than any other country in the world. They constitute about 33 per cent. of the population of the city of Warsaw and about 11 per cent. of the population of Poland today. The anti-Semitic movement in Poland was artificially created first by the Czarist Government of Russia, which incited one oppressed nationality against the other, in order to weaken both. Afterward various Polish political factions adopted anti-Semitism as a political program. In 1912 the anti-Jewish movement in Poland assumed serious proportions

when the policy of an economic boycott was instituted against the Jews.

In a memorandum submitted to President Wilson at the Peace Conference by the delegation representing the American Jewish Congress the following reference was made to the economic boycott:

In spite of the fact that all of the inhabitants of Poland suffered from the weight of Russian oppression, the Poles have, ever since 1912, waged incessantly an economic boycott, directed solely against the Jews, of unparalleled rancor and bitterness, deliberately conceived for the purpose of exterminating the Jews or driving them out of Poland, for no other reason than to punish them for refusing to elect to the Duma a pronounced anti-Semite, the exercise of this right of suffrage being denounced as a Jewish attempt on the sovereign right of the Poles. This fact was boldly admitted by Mr. Roman Dmowski, the President of the National Polish Committee. This boycott extended to Posen and Galicia. Its results have been disastrous.

In an interview with Mr. Louis Marshall, President of the American Jewish Committee, on Oct. 6, 1918, Mr. Roman Dmowski, the leader of the Polish National Democratic Party, admitted his own responsibility for the anti-Jewish economic boycott, and explained the reasons why the boycott had been launched. His statement was, in part, as follows.

I must confess that personally I have been hostile to the Jews and have, as a leader of a political party, deliberately engaged in a struggle against them, and am responsible for the economic boycott to which they have been subjected. I will give you the reasons which prompted my action.

About 1908 a large number of Lithuanian Jews, who could no longer endure the treatment accorded to them by Russia, came to Poland. Strangely enough, they persisted, after they came to Poland, in speaking the Rus-

sian language obtrusively. They also began a movement whereby the Jews were induced to employ Jewish doctors and Jewish lawyers instead of Polish physicians and lawyers as theretofore. Consequently they began what I call a boycott.

Although the Jews of Warsaw represented only 38 per cent. of the population, they took upon themselves to advocate the election of a Jew to the Duma instead of a Pole, there being but one representative in the Duma from Warsaw. This culminated at the elections for the Fourth Duma, in 1912, in a serious conflict. On account of the peculiarity of the election laws and the attitude of the Polish electorate, many of whom intentionally abstained from registering, it was found that the Jews who had availed themselves of the right of registration represented 24,000 voters and the Poles only 22,000, and as a result of this situation the candidate of our party was defeated. The Jews brought about the election of the Socialist candidate (Jagello). This led to great bitterness, and from that time on we conducted the boycott of which you are complaining.

There were other reasons which led to a clash between the Poles and the Jews. Poland is a poor country. Until recently the Poles were engaged in agriculture and as laborers exclusively. The Jews devoted themselves to commerce and industry. It became apparent to the Poles that it was desirable that they should also engage in commerce to enable them to gain a livelihood. That resulted in competition with the Jews, who resented the intrusion of Poles into their economic field. Unfortunately it was a struggle for existence between two portions of the population, both of which were exceedingly poor. There were not crumbs enough to go around. Although the Poles are poor, the Jews are even more wretched.

#### ELECTION DISPUTE IN WARSAW

Mr. Dmowski did not mention the fact that the main reason why the Jews did not vote for the candidate of his party was the fact that he was a pronounced anti-Semite. It could hardly have been expected that the Jewish population of Warsaw should help the election of its enemy to the Russian Duma.

After that election hatred of the Jews was fanned by the Polish anti-Semitic leaders through the press and the church. The economic boycott against the Jews became ruthless. During the World War the plight of the Jews in

the Polish provinces was tragic. In addition to the rabid Judophobia of the Russian Black Hundreds and the highest Russian officials, including the Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian armies, the Poles aggravated the sufferings of the Jews by making false accusations against them, by spreading all sorts of wild legends of Jewish disloyalty and treason to the Russian Government, which resulted in numerous executions of innocent Jews and in the expulsion of entire Jewish communities.

After the Armistice, when Poland was re-established as a State, a new wave of anti-Jewish outrages swept over various parts of the country. Many Jews were killed, humiliated, robbed. And the explanation advanced by Polish leaders was that the outrages and excesses were due to the fact that the Jews were either Bolsheviki or sympathizers with the Russian Bolsheviki. When the shocking



COUNT SKRZYNSKI  
Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs

facts became known outside Poland and vigorous protests reached the Peace Conference, M. Paderewski, then Premier of Poland, General Pilsudski, then Field Marshal and head of the Polish State, and M. Wojciechowski, then Minister of the Interior and now President of Poland, issued orders calling upon the Polish population and the Polish troops to stop the anti-Jewish excesses, and threatening to punish the guilty, but very few of those who participated in the anti-Jewish outrages were ever punished.

During the two years before the signing of the Polish-Jewish agreement the Polish anti-Semites concentrated their efforts on crushing the Jews of Poland economically. An epidemic of suicides broke out among the Jewish business men in Poland as a result of being forced to the wall by all sorts of discriminatory measures which made it impossible for them to carry on. Among these measures was the inequality of taxation. While in the eyes of the law all citizens were equal, and the same rate of taxation applied to the Polish Jews as to the Polish Gentiles, the Jews were compelled to pay much higher taxes because of the discrimination practiced by the local appraising committees. The Jews were often compelled to pay more than they had earned. Those of the Jews who were unable to pay their taxes had their belongings removed by the tax collectors. The situation of the Jews in Poland became more tragic than ever during the period of anti-Jewish riots in 1919. One result was the new exodus of Polish Jews to Palestine during the past year.

The economic condition of Poland was also growing increasingly desperate. The stabilization of the Polish currency at first brought about certain improvements in the situation of Poland, but commerce and industry kept declining, and Polish exports practically ceased. At the same time almost one-third of Poland's budget was devoted to the maintenance of the army and the police force.

Some of the saner statesmen of Poland began to realize that the internal



Dr. Oslas Thon, one of the two Jewish delegates who negotiated the agreement with the Polish Government, is here seen in the centre of the front row of a group of representative Jews in Paris in 1919

strife and discord growing out of the anti-Jewish policy was injuring Poland's development at home and hurting Poland's prestige abroad. At the instance of Count Alexander Skrzynski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, negotiations were commenced with the Polish Jewish Deputies in the Sejm for a better understanding between the Poles and the Jews. Count Skrzynski, regarded as the most liberal member of the Polish Cabinet, sent for Dr. Leon Reich, the President of the Jewish Kolo in the Polish Parliament, representing forty-six Jewish Deputies, and told him that, in his opinion, the time had come to make an end to existing hostilities between the Poles and the Jews in the interests both of the Polish State and of the Jews. Deputy Reich replied that this should have been done long ago and that the Jews were ready to start negotiations and to consider the Government's proposals at

any time. Count Skrzynski succeeded in securing the cooperation of the Prime Minister's brother, Stanislaw Grabski, Minister of Education. Known as a liberal years ago, he had in recent years become one of the Polish anti-Semitic ideologists and, as the publisher of several newspapers, conducted an anti-Semitic agitation in the press. The fact that the Minister of Education agreed to participate in the conferences with the Jewish representatives, Dr. Leon Reich and Dr. Osias Thon, made a profound impression. After a series of meetings an agreement was reached on behalf of the Polish Government and the Jews of Poland. The full text of this accord has not been made public, but the following is a summary of the main points of the agreement.

#### MAIN POINTS OF AGREEMENT

1. That the Polish Government is ready to annul the ordinance imposing the Polish language as the language of discussion in Councils of the Jewish communities of the Polish Republic, not permitting the use of Yiddish or Hebrew during the discussions.
2. That the Polish Government agrees to widen the sphere of activity and function of the legalized Jewish communal organizations in the towns and cities.
3. That public rights be granted to Jewish private schools in which the language of instruction may be Polish, Yiddish or Hebrew.
4. That the Polish Government will secure State credit for Jewish merchants on an equal footing with non-Jewish merchants.
5. That Jewish representatives be included on the board of the Polish Bank, the main financial instrument of the Polish Government.
6. That the Polish Government will take the necessary measures for the purpose of postponing for five years the carrying out of the decision of the Polish Sejm (Parliament) concerning the withdrawal of concessions on monopolized articles, a measure which threatened the economic existence of 30,000 Jewish families.
7. That the Government will repeal the secret orders issued by the respective departments enforcing in actuality numerous clauses for Jewish officers in the Polish Army and for Jewish students in Polish institutions of higher learning.
8. That a number of officials of Jewish faith

who served in State offices in Galicia and were dismissed following the reunion of Galicia with the Polish Republic be reinstated.

9. That a list of Jewish jurists who might be candidates for judicial posts be submitted to the Minister of Justice for acceptance.

10. That a department for Jewish affairs will be created in the Ministry of Education.

11. That all those who have resided in Poland since 1910 will not be considered foreigners, but eligible for Polish citizenship.

12. That Jewish merchants and tradesmen will be allowed to open their stores for two hours on Sundays.

At the beginning of June, 1925, the agreement was concluded at the Hall of Representatives in the building of the Council of Ministers, in Warsaw. Premier Grabski represented the Government, and Deputies Reich, Reizes, Falbstein, Elijah Kirschbaum and Senators Truskier and Schrieber represented the Club of Jewish Deputies. Deputy Reich, as President of the Jewish Club of Deputies, made the following declaration:

Adhering continually to the standpoint of the immunity of the frontiers of the Polish Republic and of the defense of Poland's policy as a great power, adhering to the view of the necessity for an internal consolidation within the Republic, the Club of Jewish Deputies in the Polish Sejm establishes that its policy in the Sejm with regard to general matters as well as concerning Jewish national questions was conceived and conducted in conformity with the mentioned principle for the purpose of protecting the interests of the Jewish population in the Republic.

Wladislaw Grabski, the Polish Prime Minister, then read a declaration, part of which was as follows:

The Jewish problem in Poland, particularly with regard to the cooperation with the Polish population, is very complicated. We should therefore congratulate ourselves that both parties, imbued with good will, have made the first step which I hope will open an era in the history of the Jewish problem in Poland. The conviction has been growing that a situation where one part of the population profits from the disadvantage of the other part with regard to the State cannot be maintained, and it tends to greater prosperity when all cooperate for the welfare of the State which must satisfy all. In accordance with this, the Government will, in the near



future, issue ordinances as the first step toward satisfying the economic and political needs of the Jewish population.

### "ANTI-SEMITISM A MISTAKE"

On his recent arrival in this country, Count Skrzynski, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was most instrumental in bringing about the Polish-Jewish agreement, said:

The Polish-Jewish agreement is one of the agreements which will be recorded in the history of the Polish Republic. The Polish people have awakened to the realization that their anti-Semitism is a mistake. With sufficient capital there is room enough in Poland, as well as plenty of opportunities, for both Jews and Poles. The rights of the Jewish population in Poland will be secured by the fact that the Polish Government will endeavor to stop the attacks on the Jews in the Polish press, and to mould public opinion in Poland on calmer and more favorable lines.

During Count Skrzynski's stay in the United States, however, there came disquieting reports from Poland to the effect that not only had the Government not done anything as yet to carry out the agreement with the Jews, but that certain measures had been adopted which gave rise to fears that there would be no change in the attitude of the Government toward the Jews of Poland. These fears were accentuated particularly because of the publication of an article in M. Grabski's organ, containing the following statements regarding the agreement.

The Jews are a commercial people and the agreement with them ought to be considered as a commercial enterprise. If the Jews will take steps to stop their universal press from making insinuations against Poland and paralyzing the international policy of Poland, if the Jews will be as loyal to Poland as they were to Austria during the period of the Austrian Empire, then the Government will give them certain concessions. \* \* \*

Every business may prove good or bad. If it be proved that the Polish Government has made a bad business with the Jews, the Government will have to liquidate its business quickly. If the Jews consider this

business as a beginning of a new era in their relations with Poland, if, on the basis of this agreement, they begin to build new and daring plans which result in the ideal of a national personal autonomy and turn Poland into a Judea Polonia, then their dreams will be quickly shattered.

In order to ascertain whether there was any cause for the belief that the Polish-Jewish agreement was being repudiated before it was actually put into operation, I interviewed Count Skrzynski at Williamstown a few days before his departure for Poland. He gave the following frank explanation:

There is no cause for concern about this matter. There has been no change with regard to the agreement. The Government did not initiate the negotiations with the Jewish leaders for the sake of gaining any advantages in an emergency. The present Government has a large majority in the Sejm. The Government has done it because it is determined to open a new chapter in Polish-Jewish relations, because it realizes it is in the best interests of all concerned. Of course, the extremists both among the Poles and the Jews criticize the agreement, and are trying to bring about its failure. The extremists are carrying on a propaganda against it in the Polish and the Jewish press. But the great majority of the Polish Government are for it, and the majority of the Jewish Deputies are for it.

The psychology of a people cannot be changed overnight. When the newspapers, I mean the nationalist newspapers, commence to write gradually in a more friendly tone about the Jews, when they will write of the patriotism of the Jews, and of their devotion to the Polish State, as the Jews had been devoted to the Austrian Empire, then the simple peasants in the villages will realize that the Jews are as good as the rest of the population, and thus anti-Semitism will disappear.

Of course, everybody who understands politics knows that there was more in the agreement than the points stipulated. We are ready to carry out the agreement. We intend to take it to the Parliament at the proper time, and I hope we will meet with success.

"Poland wants to open this new chapter," Count Skrzynski concluded, "and it will do it, notwithstanding the extremists in both camps."

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# Peasant Progress in Soviet Russia

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Russian Correspondent of the United Press, The Christian Science Monitor,  
and The Manchester (England) Guardian

WE are a "dark people." How often a wayfarer among the Russian peasants hears this frank bit of self-characterization, in which the word "dark" is used in the accepted sense of "ignorant"! Peasants of the older generation make this admission in a tone of philosophic resignation; the younger peasants, many of whom have seen something of Western European life in German prison camps, impart to the words a note of bitterness mingled with envy. The statement falls naturally from the peasant's lips as an explanation of any defect; a harvest eaten up by worms, a dishonest local official, a broken-down cart, a school that does not function. The Russian peasant, liberated from serfdom only a few generations ago, has no trace of national pride. On the contrary, he is quite ready, almost too ready, in fact, to dwell on his own ignorance, backwardness and general shortcomings.

Russians often say that their country stands somewhere between Europe and Asia in its culture and civilization. One best understands the truth of this observation after seeing something of Russian peasant life. The cities in Russia may belong to Europe, but the villages are certainly closer to Asia. The Russian peasant in most of his habits and standards of living suggests Turkey or Persia, rather than France or Germany. A separate farmhouse is an uncommon sight on the Russian countryside. The peasants, with few exceptions, live in villages ranging in size from small towns of ten or fifteen thousand inhabitants to little hamlets inhabited by a few families. In the heavily wooded northern parts of Russia the peasants

live in cabins built out of rough-hewn logs; where trees are scarce the peasants use mud, reinforced by thatch, as their chief building material. One occasionally finds more pretentious frame houses in the larger villages; such dwellings usually belong to the local priest, or to a peasant who by innate shrewdness and enterprise has enriched himself considerably above the general average.

The Russian peasant, however, is, as a rule, almost incredibly poor. Not long ago I was in the house of the local Soviet President of a backwoods village in the Province of Kursk. The interior of his mud house was bare and dreary. A few rough benches along the walls and two wooden tables constituted all the furniture. The bare earth was the floor. A few boards covered with a mass of ragged and dirty covers and placed near the oven served the purpose of a bed. The fire in the oven had no adequate outlet and produced more fumes than heat. In view of the smoky atmosphere, one was not surprised to see that the children had sore eyes. This particular peasant was far from being the poorest in his village. He had a horse, a cow and a calf; he was able to eat sour milk, the great peasant delicacy, on his black bread in place of butter. Some of the other peasants in the village had no horses. A few had no working animals of any kind and lived constantly on the borderline of starvation.

Occasionally one finds incongruous signs of city luxury in the peasant homes. A victrola which belonged to a peasant family in a Ukrainian village was a memorial of the famine days in

the Russian cities when people would barter away anything for a loaf of bread. But this process of draining the cities for the benefit of the villages stopped long ago. The economic tide is now the other way, and many of the valuables which the peasants acquired from the cities have been surrendered in payment of taxes.

The peasant's food and clothing are on a par with the miserable hut in which he lives with his live stock in the cold Winter months. Meat is a luxury which he is wont to taste only on Sundays or church holidays. His staple articles of diet are black bread and borsch, a thick soup brewed out of cabbage and potatoes, with a dash of sour cream floating about on the top. Another staple food is kasha, a sort of oatmeal made out of millet.

Even the poorest peasant has his samovar. He knows little about medicine or hygiene, but as instinct and experience have taught him that it is unwise to drink unboiled water, he makes weak tea his regular beverage. Sugar, at its present price, is a luxury in a peasant household. The peasant is by no means averse to stronger drinks when he can

obtain them. The Government dram-shops, which formerly dispensed vodka (the extremely strong Russian brand of whisky) to the peasants, were closed after the outbreak of the World War and the Soviet Government has outlawed vodka. Though "pivo," or beer, the favorite drink of the masses in the towns, is seldom obtainable in the villages, the peasant's craving for violent stimulants does not go unsatisfied. There is scarcely a village so poor or so small that it does not have at least one enterprising manufacturer of "samogón," or moonshine whisky. The peasants never seem to lack liquor, especially on festival occasions. That the Government carries on a relentless crusade against the makers and vendors of samogón is proved by the number of confiscated bottles and stills that one finds in police headquarters in county-seat towns. But legal enactments have not proved strong enough to stamp out the peasant's inherited habit of heavy drinking, and new stills spring up to replace those which have been destroyed.

Quite Asiatic is the peasant attitude toward marriage, which is regarded as



Ewing Galloway

Russian peasants at work in fields not far from Moscow

a bargain between families, rather than an affair that concerns only the individuals involved. A recognized profession in the Russian villages is that of the matchmaker. The bride's father must always pay the bridegroom something in cash or in kind. A marriage is an outstanding event in the life of a peasant family and is celebrated with the usual feastings and jollifications, including plentiful libations of samogón. The day of the marriage is one of the few bright periods in the life of a Russian peasant bride. After her marriage she is almost always obliged to live in the home of her husband's parents; and the hand of her mother-in-law is likely to be heavy and unsympathetic. Her husband usually beats her. She is compelled to work very hard, in the fields as well as about the house; this, in addition to frequent childbearing, causes her youthful freshness to disappear rapidly. Theoretically the revolution brought equality of the sexes; but the primitive peasant habits of life, which are based on the unquestioning subordination of woman, usually remain in force with slight modifications. Attached to the Communist Party is a "Zhenotdel," or Women's Department, which is supposed to carry on educational work among working and peasant women, informing them of their new rights and training them to take part in public life. The work of this organization, however, has scarcely begun to penetrate the more remote villages.

In one respect the peasant woman is freer than she was before the revolution. Formerly a divorce was almost unobtainable; it could only be gained after long legal processes and after the payment of a fee which was beyond the reach of the average peasant. Now a divorce is to be had almost for the asking, at the will of either partner in the marriage. Thus a peasant woman has a better chance of escaping from a drunken or brutal husband. On the whole, however, judging from the cases observed by the writer, men are more inclined to take advantage of this new freedom in conjugal relations than wo-

men, who cling to the old safeguards of family life. It is the women's influence that has kept the church marriage as a practically universal institution in the Russian village, in spite of the strenuous anti-religious propaganda which is carried on by the ruling Communist Party. Even those peasants who are Communists and who are strictly forbidden by their party code to take any part in religious ceremonies, are sometimes forced to marry and have their children christened in a church because they cannot find women who will marry them under other conditions.

#### NEW RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES

It is difficult to state precisely the effect of the revolution upon the religion of the Russian peasant. Evidence on this point is conflicting. Fanatical or enthusiastic faith in God is not characteristic of the Russian peasants, except, perhaps, in the case of some who have left the Russian Orthodox Church to join the Baptists or other sects. Churchgoing has declined, although this may be partially attributed to the fact that many of the poorer peasants have no clothing which they consider fit to wear. The fact that the League of Communist Youth, the organization of young Communists, proscribes religious belief on the part of its members does not prevent a number of the younger peasants from joining the league. The older peasants are more conservative. In general, one finds no tendency among the peasants to boycott the schools, lectures and reading rooms of the new régime because of religious scruples. Among the younger peasants, especially among those who served through the war, a certain skepticism is perceptible. The rather primitive rites and superstitions of the village church have lost their hold on the minds of these men. Without becoming positive and conscious atheists like the Communists, they are groping about in a fog of doubt and uncertainty.

On the other hand, the formal observances and customs which always made up a large share of the peasant's



religion have been little changed by the revolution. One rarely finds a peasant hut that does not have its ikon corner, with a candle or a smoky little lamp burning before a picture of Jesus and the Virgin and the saints, encased in glass and surrounded by stiff wreaths of artificial flowers. Only the Baptists and other sectarians have eliminated the ikons. Even the village Communists are apt to have them, explaining a little shamefacedly that this is merely a concession to their wives. The average peasant still makes the traditional sign of the cross before he sits down to a meal. He observes the church fasts with tolerable regularity and never works on any important religious holiday. Both the husband and wife in a Russian peasant family wear a crucifix suspended from their necks. The peasants do not take kindly to anti-religious agitations, such as processions and plays designed to ridicule or parody the services of the Church. Fully aware of this attitude of the peasant, the Communist Party is now directing its anti-religious propaganda in the villages along the lines of scientific education, calculated to reveal to the peasant the natural causes of rain and drought, thunder and lightning, and other phenomena which the village priest attributes to the direct intervention of a higher power. Scientific education is not considered a means of anti-religious agitation in more advanced countries; but superstition is so intertwined with the ordinary peasant's conception of religion that the very foundations of his faith may be shaken if he begins to get an idea of the working of cause and effect in the sphere of nature.

The peasant is also woefully deficient in agricultural knowledge. He is al-

most as helpless as a child in the face of any unforeseen catastrophe. No European or American farmer is so completely at the mercy of nature. His normal state of existence is precarious at the best and a few weeks of drought may mean actual hunger. Worms, grasshoppers, locusts, field mice and other pests ravage his fields with little resistance. Only a few of the former prosperous peasants have any idea of suitable remedies.

Nor can the Russian peasant defend himself against disease. In spite of plagues that swept away hundreds of thousands of people during the period of blockade and civil war, he refuses to



Russian peasants assembled for a dance

believe that typhus comes from the bite of a louse. There are regions along the lower Volga and the Caspian Sea where almost the whole population is attacked every Summer with malaria. Quinine is almost unknown in the peasant villages. If a peasant feels ill he rarely goes to the local hospital, assuming that one is accessible. He is much more likely to call in a "babka," an old woman who knows how to recite incantations and perform charms.

"A dark people." The immediate effect of the upheaval through which Rus-

sia has passed in recent years has been to intensify the darkness, to make the villages even more Asiatic than they were before the revolution. The work of destruction wrought by seven years of World War and civil war was enormous; and found a terrible culmination in the gigantic famine which followed the drought and harvest failure of 1921.

First came the World War, which mobilized millions of peasants, and swept away vast numbers of horses for the use of the army, thereby bringing about a considerable reduction in the area of land planted. The civil war was even more destructive. From 1918 to 1921 the Russian countryside was an arena of combat both for regular armies and irregular bands, all of which, regardless of the political principles which they professed, lived on the country and plundered the peasants. The disastrous effects of the famine, which swept away almost all the working animals in some provinces, are obvious.

During this whole period of civil war and famine the peasants got practically nothing in the way of manufactured goods from the cities. Many factories stopped working; and the needs of the army swallowed up whatever manufactured goods could be produced. It was only quite recently that a thin stream of city products began to trickle through to the villages.

The effects of the broken economic contact between city and country are visible as soon as one enters a peasant village. The peasants are mostly clothed in homespun garments. The peasants drink tea without sugar; they have no nails to repair their carts, which are falling to pieces.

The schools have also shared in the general deterioration. Owing to the poverty of the Government, the number of schools in Russia has diminished since the revolution from 61,000 to 49,000, according to a statement made by the Commissar for Education, Mr. Lunacharsky, before the Congress of the All-Union Soviet Executive Committee in October, 1924. The number of children attending school has fallen off still

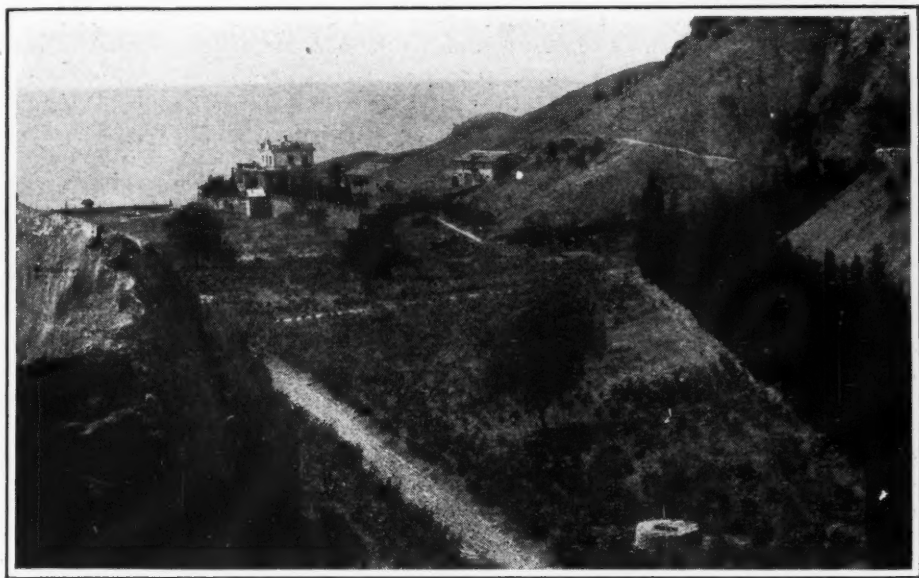
more, because the poorer peasants are usually unable to send their children to school during the Winter months on account of insufficient clothing. The teachers are poorly paid; and the schools usually suffer from lack of textbooks, notebooks, pencils and other school accessories.

Before the revolution there was a certain class of Russian peasants that had attained something of the status of Western European or American farmers. By buying land from the more impoverished nobles, these prosperous peasants acquired farms of a hundred acres or more, generally introducing machinery and employing more advanced farming methods than those which prevailed among their poorer neighbors. The revolution dealt harshly with these prosperous peasants. Their livestock and machinery were plundered by their envious poorer neighbors and their farms were taken away from them.

#### LAND SYSTEM DECREASES PRODUCTS

Today the amount of land which a Russian peasant may hold is determined by the number of eaters in his family. Suppose the amount of land allotted for each individual is one dessiatin (2.7 acres); a family of six members would then be entitled to hold six dessiatins. This system guarantees land to the poor peasant who was landless before the revolution and makes for theoretical equality. Though in practice this equality is often not realized, inasmuch as the poorer peasants often lack horses or indeed working animals of any kind, and are consequently obliged to rent their plots of land to their richer neighbors receiving half the crop in exchange, such a process of forcible levelling as one finds in the Russian villages has its disadvantages from the standpoint of scientific farming.

The Soviet Government is not blind to the economic disadvantages of the present system of artificially equalized small holdings. Its remedy for the situation is cooperation. All sorts of inducements in the way of lowered taxes and first preference in the distribution of credit and machinery are offered to



Wide World Photos

A vineyard in the Crimea

groups of peasants who agree to take over a large estate and farm it on a communal or cooperative basis. But these agricultural communes and cooperatives do not seem to appeal to the majority of the peasants. As a rule it is only the poorest peasants, who lack horses and farm implements and have nothing to lose, who go into these collective farm organizations.

#### HOPE IN NEW SPIRIT

If one considered only the present material position of the Russian peasant, with his ragged clothing, his rundown school, his diminished crops and live stock, one might come to the conclusion that the last decade has meant for him a relapse into Asiatic poverty and backwardness. But there are other factors in the situation which seem to point to a day when the peasants can no longer be fairly considered a "dark" people. First of all, there are definite signs of a break with the old sluggish, apathetic, semi-Oriental mood of the Russian village. This is especially true of the younger peasants, who were torn away

from their homes and forced to fight in the World War and in the subsequent Russian civil war. Approximately 2,000,000 Russian soldiers, mostly peasants, were prisoners in Germany. Large numbers of them were assigned to work on German farms, thereby for the first time in their lives coming into contact with electricity, modern machinery and scientific farming methods. These men can never again be satisfied with their muddy, forlorn villages.

The influence of the revolution has also had its effect upon peasant psychology. This does not mean that the peasants as a whole have embraced the teachings of Marx. The proportion of Communists in the peasant population is roughly estimated at about one to a thousand; and many of these village Communists are local officials rather than actual peasants. The agricultural communes and other collectivist schemes favored by the Government have faced what is virtually a solid wall of passive opposition in the shape of the individualistic psychology of the peasant. But the peasants, especially those who

served in the Red Army, have come more or less in contact with revolutionary propaganda. To them Lenin's name and the phrase, "Workers' and peasants' Government" are pregnant with meaning. They have driven out the big landowners who formerly ruled the Russian countryside, and now they feel that they should have more voice in managing their own affairs.

The central Communist authorities in Moscow have already sensed a rising tide of peasant political consciousness and have attempted to meet the situation by outlining a program for giving more to the village Soviets and for attracting the non-Communist peasants more actively into the work of reconstruction. No doubt it will be a long time before the present ironbound Communist dictatorship, which grew up as an inevitable accompaniment of the civil war, loses its grip on the villages. But in all probability this dictatorship will steadily become more flexible in response to the growing demands of the peasants.

#### DEMAND FOR EDUCATION

Very marked is the peasant's demand for education and knowledge. The deficiencies of the village schools have no sharper critics than the peasants themselves, who are eager to see their children well educated. The classes for the elimination of adult illiteracy also meet with enthusiastic response. An important new feature of village life is the peasant newspaper, published especially for country readers and full of articles and letters reflecting the needs and views of the peasants. Along with the village paper has grown up a new institution, the "selkor," or village correspondent. The selkor, who is usually a peasant, undertakes the task of exposing corruption and other abuses in the local Soviet or in the general life of the village. This is rather a dangerous occupation, to judge from the number of cases in which selkors have been attacked and murdered by dishonest local officials or by peasants who have been

offended by their revelations. But the number and the activity of the selkors continue to increase; they represent the peasant's new spirit of dissatisfaction with things as they are and his desire for their improvement.

By following in the footsteps of the French peasants and seizing the estates of the landed nobility the Russian peasants have completed the second stage in their emancipation from serfdom, which began when Czar Alexander II issued an edict of emancipation (March 3, 1861), but left the liberated serfs with insufficient land allotments and burdened with heavy obligatory payments to their former masters. The first stage in the emancipation came from above, by virtue of the imperial edict; the second stage came from below, from the revolutionary impulse of the peasants themselves.

It was inevitable that the violent ejection of the old landed aristocracy by a peasantry that was ignorant and often embittered by the memory of past oppression should have led to many excesses, and that the material first fruits of this process should be somewhat disappointing. Ruined estates, destroyed machinery and live stock, burned manor houses, civil war and famine, all these disasters were part of the price that a people must pay for a revolutionary change of the social order. But no one who has come in contact with the new mood of the Russian peasants, now undisputed possessors of the Russian countryside, who has seen their almost pathetic eagerness for knowledge, their grasping after higher material standards of life, can very well doubt that the parceling out of the great estates among the peasants, in Russia as in France, will ultimately be reckoned as a deathblow to feudalism and a gain for democracy. When one takes a long view of Russia's future, nothing perhaps stands out more clearly than the fact that Russia is a peasant country, by right of numbers, and that the peasants, in the end, will make of it, to a very large extent, the kind of country that they want.



# Steps Toward Conquest of Leprosy

By JAMES A. TOBEY

Secretary, National Health Council

**M**OST of the diseases which are transmitted from man to man have, during the last fifty years, yielded to the conquest of science. A few have not, and until very recent times, leprosy has been one of these. Unlike plague and smallpox, yellow fever, cholera, typhoid and many kindred scourges which man has vanquished, leprosy, for many years, frustrated all efforts of sanitarians to devise effective means for its control and prevention. Now, however, real progress is being made and it is no longer accurate to declare that leprosy is incurable. After centuries of search there is at last prospect of a definite cure for this dread disease.

The remedy, which has proved itself superior to the legion of others previously tried, is chaulmoogra oil. This oil has, as a matter of fact, been used in the treatment of leprosy for many years, but only recently has the proper chemical derivative of it, which is successful as a therapeutic agent, been developed.

True chaulmoogra oil is obtained from the seeds of a tree, the botanical name of which is "Taraktogenos kurzii," although the oil from two closely related species known as "Hydnocarpus" is practically identical. These trees grow only in the dense jungles of the Eastern Hemisphere, in remote regions of Siam, Burma, Assam and Bengal. An attempt is being made to cultivate the trees in Hawaii, where 100 acres have been set aside for this purpose. About eight years is required for the trees to produce fruit. In order to secure seeds for these trees a representative of the United States Department

of Agriculture, Professor J. F. Rock, spent a year in Asia. Dr. Rock made his start at Bangkok, Siam, and journeyed north to Chiengmai and then to Maulmain and Rangoon in Burma. On this part of the trip he was unsuccessful in his quest, though he did discover other trees of interest to botanists, including seventeen new species of oak. Finally, at Kyokta a supply of the chaulmoogra seeds was garnered. Subsequently, Dr. Rock went to Calcutta and penetrated the tiger country of Bengal and Assam. During his trip he discovered in some old Buddhist histories the legend of a Burmese King who was afflicted with leprosy. This potentate voluntarily exiled himself, fell in love with a beautiful female exile and cured both himself and his companion by means of the chaulmoogra oil. As in all such romances, ancient or modern, he married the girl and founded a dynasty.

As this story indicates, chaulmoogra oil has been used in the treatment of leprosy for centuries. According to authentic records, it has been employed in India for more than 200 years, though it was used in a primitive manner and the results were not particularly hopeful. The drug was looked upon as a palliative, rather than a cure. In 1902 Dr. Frederick B. Power of the Wellcome Research Laboratory of London, elucidated some of the constituents of chaulmoogra oil, and as a result of experimentation discovered a new series of acids. These products, made up of the chemical elements carbon, hydrogen and oxygen, had the peculiar property that a shaft of polarized light, instead of going through the acid,

was diverted from a straight path and came out at an angle of about 62 degrees. These experts in organic chemistry also found that the acids contained what is known as the five-carbon ring nucleus. The next step, which was not accomplished until 1918, was to break up this five-ring affinity into components called ethyl esters. These esters are colorless, oily liquids and are used in the treatment of leprosy by injecting them into the muscles of the patient. In the old days this drug in another form was given by the mouth. It was a most nauseating dose, however, and the results were not particularly gratifying. The crude oil was also injected, but without the effect that the esters have produced.

The hypodermic method of giving this new form of the drug has now been practiced in the cure of leprosy for several years. One-quarter of the lepers so treated in Hawaii have been discharged as cured, or at least the disease has been arrested, so that they are apparently free from it.

It is difficult to say how much leprosy there is in the world, estimates varying from one to five million cases. In countries like China and India, where the disease is especially prevalent, it is impossible to hazard even a

reasonable guess as to the number. In Japan there are about 60,000 lepers. When the United States annexed the Philippines in 1898 there were approximately 6,000 lepers out of a population of about 5,000,000, and some 1,000 contracted the disease annually. In 1925 it is estimated that there are 12,000 in the Islands, 6,000 of whom are at Cullion. In 1900, when the first census was taken in Hawaii under American auspices, there were found to be about 1,000 cases of leprosy among 37,635 native Hawaiians. In this territory, the disease is almost exclusively confined to the native race. At present there is little leprosy in Europe, though it is common in Iceland and was formerly frequently found in the Scandinavian countries. From 1880 to 1890 about 160 lepers migrated from Norway to Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota, though practically no cases were caused among the resident population by these importations. The total amount of leprosy in the United States is estimated at from 500 to 600 cases. The United States Public Health Service has definite record of about 350. In South America leprosy seems to be prevalent in Colombia, Venezuela and Brazil; and is undoubtedly present in other countries, although reports are meagre. The dis-



Birdseye view of Cullion, the largest leper colony in the world. It is 200 miles south of Manila, in the Philippine Islands

ease is spread all over Africa, and the South Sea Islands, famed of late in countless narratives, are well acquainted with it.

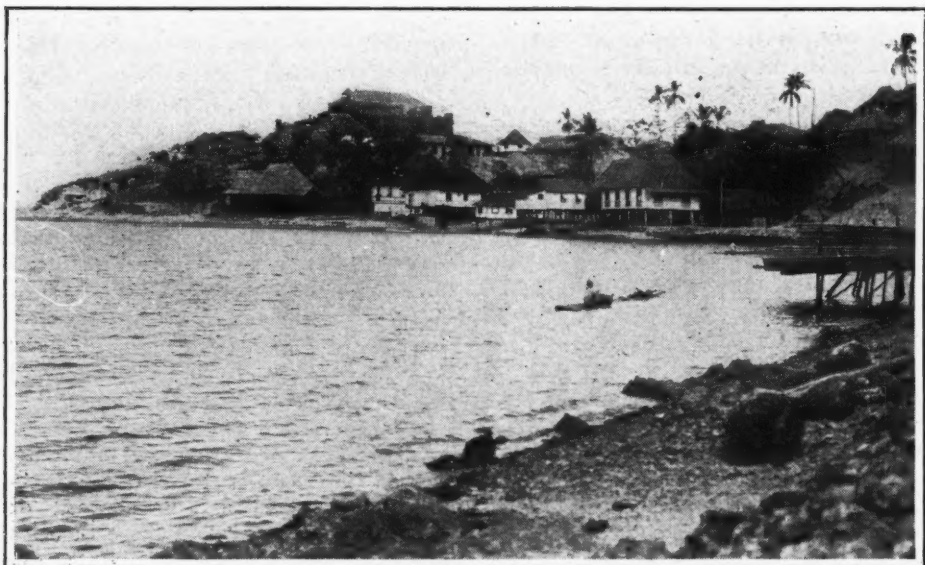
#### AN ANCIENT DISEASE

Leprosy is an ancient disease. There are many references to it in the Bible, perhaps the best known of which is the story of Namaan. It seems probable that the malady passed from ancient Egypt to Greece and from there to Rome, possibly having been carried by the troops of Pompey. At the time of the Crusades a great epidemic of leprosy spread over Europe and stern measures were taken to suppress it. Lazarettos were constructed everywhere and the lepers isolated within them. They were compelled to wear distinctive dress and to carry clappers when they passed along the highways. They were forbidden to drink from public fountains and could only indicate with a stick what food they wanted. Furthermore, the Church performed the burial service over persons designated as lepers, and they were, therefore, officially dead. The result was that the disease greatly diminished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the latter part of the nineteenth century an epidemic of leprosy occurred in the Memel district of East Prussia. The first case was observed in 1848, having evidently come from the Baltic provinces of Russia. During the next sixty years seventy-eight cases developed, reaching a maximum of twenty-five cases at one time in the early nineties, after which the epidemic ceased and the number became gradually less and less.

There are many popular misconceptions about leprosy. To be sure, it is a loathesome, chronic disease, but it does not deserve all the evil said of it. It is not hereditary, and it has no connection whatever with the venereal diseases. It is caused by a germ which was discovered by Hansen in 1874. Just how it is spread no one knows, but it is true that it spreads in some localities and not in others. For instance, at San Francisco, all the lepers detected there have come

from the Orient; and during half a century but two cases of infection have arisen from them. In Louisiana, on the other hand, practically all the cases are of domestic origin. Whether the immunity of certain regions is due to racial characteristics, sanitation, climate or other factors is a problem which has yet to be satisfactorily answered. Many studies have been made to determine whether mosquitos, flies, fleas or other insects may convey the infection, as they do certain other diseases, such as yellow fever, malaria and typhus. None of these studies has proved anything, though at one time it was thought that the bedbug might be implicated. Many articles of food, especially fish, have been accused of bringing on leprosy, but these theories have all been discarded. Rats are known to have leprosy, but unlike plague, which can be transmitted from rat to man, there is absolutely no evidence that rat leprosy is ever communicated to human beings. Claim has been made that leprosy tissue has been introduced in the Japanese dancing mouse and other laboratory animals, but this is not supported except in one case just reported in France. In Hawaii there are many "kokuas," that is, persons who live with lepers, though free from the disease themselves, and help them. Many are relatives, husbands or wives. It was found that only about 5 per cent. of these kokuas became afflicted. Many Caucasians, such as doctors, priests, sisters of charity and others, associate intimately with the lepers, and few have ever contracted the disease. One notable exception was Father Damin de Veuster, a Belgian missionary, who ministered to the lepers in Hawaii from 1873 to 1882, when he was first recognized to be suffering with the disease, from which he died in 1889. His successor, Brother Joseph Dutton, has carried on the work for over thirty years without any infection, and remains in good health to this day.

From the clinical point of view, there are three types of the disease. The first, known as the nodular, or tuber-



The Cullion leper colony in the Philippines. On the hill is an old Spanish fort, now used as a church

cular, type, is characterized by an eruption which appears on the face and hands. As the disease progresses ulcers are likely to form. The second type is known as the anesthetic and attacks the nerves. The third type is a combination of the two. The life of a leper averages about ten years after the onset of the disease. More males than females are attacked. One of the great peculiarities of the disease is the long time that it takes to develop the malady after a person is infected. If one is exposed to influenza he will get it, if he does get it at all, in about five days. This lapse of time between the infection and the appearance of symptoms, known as the incubation period, is a matter of days in most communicable diseases. With leprosy, however, it may be eighteen years after the infection before the symptoms are manifest. All kinds of cures have been tried, including a countless array of drugs and chemicals. X-ray, radium, surgery, serums and biological products. A few of these have helped conditions, but none can be really said to have effected cures.

In order to create great excitement

in any American city it is only necessary to announce that a case of leprosy has been discovered. A thousand cases of tuberculosis or of diphtheria or even of smallpox will not arouse the consternation caused by one case of leprosy. Yet there is absolutely no danger from leprosy in New York or Boston or any Northern city. For some reason which cannot be explained the disease is practically not communicable in the northern part of the United States. All cases of leprosy in New York City, and there are supposedly quite a few, have probably been imported from other places, and, furthermore, the risk that they will infect persons with whom they come in contact is negligible.

The control of leprosy in the continental United States, however, is a Federal matter. The care of the public health is basically a part of the police power of each individual State, but the Federal Government is concerned with health matters which arise in connection with foreign or interstate commerce, with research, or education of the public in sanitary science. Many lepers have no legal residences, how-



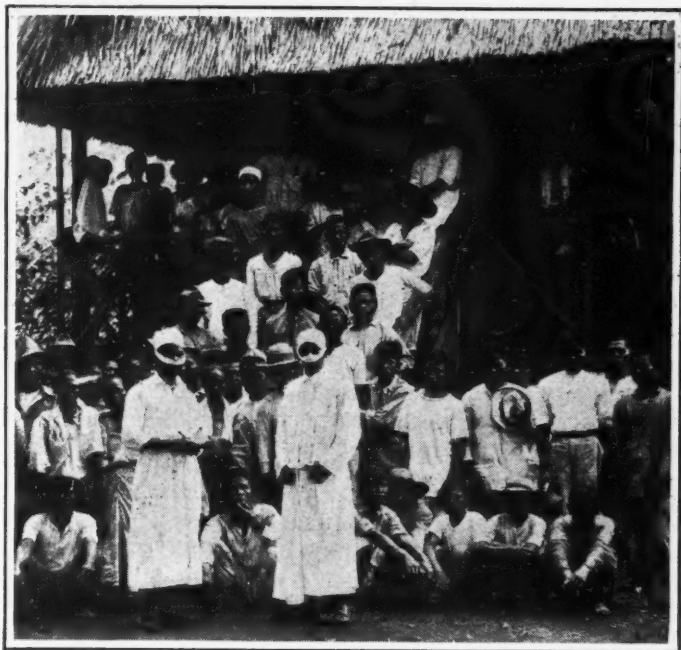
ever, and States have no adequate facilities to care for them. In fact only three States have ever established leper colonies: Massachusetts at Penikese Island, California at an isolation hospital in San Francisco, and Louisiana at Carville, in Iberville Parish. In the latter State, through the munificence of Don Almonester y Roxas, a hospital was set aside for lepers as early as 1785. When a site for a new hospital was being considered in 1901, many emphatic protests were made by misguided citizens of the locality where it was proposed to place the institution, the protests culminating in an incendiary conflagration which destroyed the buildings already at this location.

Congress passed a law for the establishment of a Federal leprosarium in 1917, after holding extensive hearings, at which many scientists testified, all uniting to urge such a step. Among those whose voice was raised in this cause was John Early, himself a leper, who some years ago received great publicity. Early was an ex-soldier who had served in the Philippines, where he probably contracted the disease. He was detained in the District of Columbia, but escaped and traveled all over the country, until he was finally apprehended again and caged like a wild animal. One of the Senators also told at these hearings how he had himself mingled among lepers in his youth. The national leper home was finally established at Carville, La., after patriotic citizens of Florida had most ardently protested a proposal to utilize

three remote islands off the coast of that State. Carville is on the Mississippi River, about seventy-five miles north of New Orleans. At the present time there are about 200 patients. Recently additional appropriations were made by Congress for additional buildings for this home. Facilities are now greatly limited and there is a waiting list of patients.

#### LEPERS IN HAWAII AND THE PHILIPPINES

In Hawaii people have to be kept out of the leper settlement at Molokai, rather than in it. Previous to 1850 there



A group of hopeful cases at the Cullion leper colony in the Philippines

was no leprosy on the Sandwich Islands. In some manner a case of the disease was introduced; and, as is usually the case when an unusual disease strikes a primitive race, it made terrific progress. By 1863 there were so many cases that the Government took cognizance of the situation. In 1866 a settlement was established on the Island of Molokai and during that year 142 cases were segregated. Up to the pres-

ent time nearly 7,000 lepers have been admitted there. The largest number isolated at one time was 1,213, in 1890. At present there are about 700 patients and about fifty are admitted annually, these being almost entirely from among the natives. In 1905, seven years after Hawaii was annexed by the United States, the Federal Government created a leprosy experiment station at Molokai. Much progress has been made in coping with the disease through investigations carried on there, and thirty-three papers have been published on the subject. The four scientists in charge of the earlier years of the work have been Drs. W. R. Brinckerhoff, Donald H. Currie, George W. McCoy and M. T. Clegg. Three of these men are now dead, though not from any cause associated with the work among the lepers, and the fourth, Dr. McCoy, is director of the Hygienic Laboratory of the United States Public Health Service at Washington. The present director of the experiment station is Surgeon H. E. Hasseltine, who recently succeeded Dr. J. T. McDonald.

At present all lepers are first sent to Kalihi Hospital, near Honolulu, where they are held six months for observation before being sent to Molokai or discharged. The offices and laboratories of the investigation station are now at Kalihi and the director serves also as chief of the medical staff here. From October, 1918, to November, 1920, seventy-eight patients were paroled as no longer a menace to society, and during 1922 twenty-six patients were paroled. The derivatives of chaulmoogra oil have been developed at this station under the direction of A. L. Dean, President and Professor of Chemistry at the University of Hawaii, who was invited to undertake this research in 1918.

When our Government took over the Philippine Islands in 1898 it was estimated that there were from 6,000 to 30,000 lepers, though an actual census showed that the number did not exceed the lower figure. Experienced Europeans scoffed at the idea that leprosy

could be eradicated, for, they said, in order to do that the whole mode of living of the Oriental must be changed, but the work against leprosy in the Philippines, begun by Heiser and carried on by Wade and his associates, has demonstrated that there is every reason to hope for success.

The Island of Culion in the Calamianes was selected by Dr. Heiser as the site for the leprosarium in the Philippines. On this tropic isle, 200 miles south of Manila, 460 square miles in area, which was chosen because it was well isolated and had a good water supply, the Philippine authorities proceeded to lay out a complete town. Many difficulties were encountered, especially in getting labor, and, once having secured workmen, in inducing them to remain on the job. At one time 300 laborers decamped when a rumor spread that a shipload of lepers was to arrive. Captains of steamers bringing building supplies were often unfamiliar with the port and would anchor miles away, necessitating the use of small boats in transporting the material to the island. Some of the equipment had to be ordered in Europe or the United States, and when, as sometimes happened, a machine arrived with the essential part missing, it took months to get it supplied. In spite of many heartrending difficulties the colony was finally completed. The present colony numbers 5,600. They live in several hundred nipa palm houses, each accommodating from five to seven persons, and there are also a number of larger concrete houses divided into apartments, with facilities in each for twelve people.

#### CULION WORLD'S LARGEST LEPER COLONY

Culion is the world's largest and most efficient leper colony. The inmates are given all possible liberty and even a considerable amount of self-government. They have their own police force and elect their own Mayor and city officials. They have special money, which is not circulated outside of the island; all mail is disinfected when sent

out and is handled by non-leprous clerks. Those who are able-bodied are employed and paid wages, though they are also getting free lodging and care from the Government. This policy is similar to that at Molokai, where the lepers can work if they desire, but are not required to do so. Chaulmoogra oil is used for treatment, and patients are paroled whenever they seem to be non-infectious or cured. This whole task of rounding up the recognized lepers of the Philippines was accomplished in a few years without disturbance. The result is that now they have decent homes, where they live in comparative comfort, instead of being shunned and driven about like dogs, and, furthermore, the other inhabitants of the islands are protected from the dangers of this pestilence. Dr. Victor G. Heiser, who was in charge of this work for over ten years, is now employed by the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation as director of health work in the whole East. He was succeeded by Dr. H. Windsor Wade of Boston. Mrs. Wade, who was Miss Dorothy Paul of New Orleans, prominent in the social life of the Crescent City, married Dr. Wade in 1917, and when he went to Culion she accompanied him, and for two years has been the only Caucasian woman on the island except eight nursing Sisters of Charity.

Dr. Wade's staff consists of fourteen physicians, twenty-one nurses, eleven Sisters of Charity (who assist in the nursing), a dentist, an American chief chemist, pharmacists and minor non-leper employes. There are, besides, 192 leper employes, of whom 100 assist in the work in the hospital.

A report issued recently from the leper colony at Culion Island states that of the 3,200 cases under regular treatment in September, 1924, 75 per cent. showed some degree of improvement, while 32 per cent. were accorded as practically negative. Up to March, 1925, 449 patients were pronounced free from infection, and of this number 196 were returned to their homes as entirely cured; forty-four who were tem-

porarily free suffered a relapse, but were expected to be returned cured, and nearly 300 more showed every indication of being free of infection within the next twelve months, thus accounting for 749 out of 3,200.

#### GOVERNOR GENERAL WOOD'S CAMPAIGN FOR CULION

Governor General Wood has from the outset manifested the deepest personal interest in the leper colony, frequently visiting it in person, and has been the inspiration for the splendid results that have accrued; in fact, in his inauguration address he announced that one of the objectives of his administration was improved conditions at Culion. In view of the recent cures and successful results of the process applied at Culion, Governor General Wood has interested himself in arousing public sentiment in the United States to raise a fund sufficient to continue the research work that has been commenced at Culion, to give the unfortunate victims the proper attention and to care for the discharged patients, many of whom have no resources when discharged from the colony and are forbidden intercourse with their fellow-men through superstitious horror for leprosy, it being the general belief among the ignorant that the malady can never be eradicated. General Wood, in his appeal to the American people to contribute to the funds in the name of humanity and for the advancement of science, stated:

I believe we are on the verge of great results in the treatment and care of leprosy. We are working not only for the lepers here, but for lepers all over the world; and our success will be theirs as well. The insular appropriations for the colony are about one-third of the entire public health appropriation. Nevertheless, we need more money and the Insular Government cannot give more. This money will be used for additional buildings, for roads to agricultural lands, and for the establishment of small agricultural and segregation groups, and especially for trained personnel, laboratory equipment, additional wards, equipment and skilled personnel for research work and treatment.

I want to raise \$1,000,000 for these purposes. Money cannot be better spent. Not

only will it be for the immediate benefit of the lepers themselves, but it will be for the general study and treatment of the disease, which, I believe, can be eradicated in these islands. In other words, we shall render a great service to stricken humanity throughout large portions of the world and demonstrate that this dread disease can be controlled.

We were successful in our efforts to eradicate yellow fever and to control malaria in Cuba. The methods there employed have made the tropics as safe as the Temperate Zone. We have rendered the Philippine Islands safe against cholera, smallpox and plague by scientific methods of control.

We are now carrying on this great campaign for the control and eradication of leprosy. We need your help. The American people have ever been generous in supporting movements of this kind, and I again appeal to their

generosity and spirit of service in behalf of these stricken people, who are the most unfortunate and afflicted of God's creatures.

Besides the leprosariums at Carville, La.; Molokai, Hawaii, and Culion, Philippine Islands, the United States Government also maintains one in the Canal Zone. Foreign nations have established leper hospitals and asylums in different parts of the world and the British Government has been active in attempting to control the disease in India. Lazarets for the treatment of lepers have been established in New South Wales (Little Bay); Queensland (Peel Island, near Brisbane, and Dayman Island, Torres Strait), and the Northern Territory (Mud Island).

## Armies and Navies of the World

### THE UNITED STATES

ARMY and navy officials occupied themselves during September with the task of reducing expenditures to meet the cut in Federal appropriations which is one of the principal features of President Coolidge's economy policy. War Department officials stated unofficially on Aug. 24 that under the new program it would be necessary to drop from 7,000 to 10,000 enlisted men as well as 1,000 to 2,000 officers. On the naval side, efforts were made to effect the required economies. Departmental officials spent several weeks on the task of revising their estimates. In a statement on Aug. 25 it was announced that the estimates, as revised, provided for the closing of numerous navy yards, including those at Boston and Charleston. This proposal aroused the resentment of the sponsors of the economy policy, who charged the

naval officials with making these "unreasonably drastic recommendations" as "political propaganda."

The giant navy dirigible Shenandoah on Sept. 3, while flying from Lakehurst, N. J., to St. Louis, Mo., was wrecked in a windstorm over Sharon, Ohio. Of the crew of forty-two officers and enlisted men, fourteen, including Lieut. Commander Zachary Lansdowne, were killed and two injured.

### GREAT BRITAIN

OUTSTANDING among recent developments in the field of national defense was the inauguration by the British Admiralty of its new economy policy. Adoption of this program was pledged by the Admiralty early in August to offset the 1925 appropriations for new cruisers. The naval administration initiated its new policy by issuing a circular which was distributed to the chief naval



centres warning the officers and men that the projected economies "may militate against the comfort of the personnel." The circular excited much comment, both among the fleet personnel and in the British press. High naval officials, in anonymous statements, asserted that the proposed economies were of a drastic nature, and added that they did not believe the changes justified. The London Daily News criticized the naval policy and characterized the circular as "disgustingly mean."

#### RUSSIA

**T**HE Soviet Government took further steps toward the strengthening of its military organization. An order was issued in Moscow on Aug. 2, requiring the young men of the 1903 class to prepare for military service. The task of recruiting this class began early in September. The summons was preceded by a campaign, conducted by the Communist Party organizations and Soviet institutions, emphasizing the fact that the chief duty of every Russian citizen was to the State. Much attention was devoted to the present hostility toward Russia of the leading nations of the world who, it was charged, were seeking to strangle the Soviet Union. The task of recruiting was commenced energetically, and received the support of most of the leading Soviet organizations. The new soldiery is drawn exclusively from the peasantry. The middle classes are denied the privilege of bearing arms for Russia, on the theory that this class, like the aristocracy, is of doubtful political faith, and cannot be trusted to fight for the Soviet State.

M. Levitsheff, Chief of the General Staff of the Red Army, issued a statement to the Moscow press on Aug. 2, denying that the new military activities had any international significance. He explained that the younger soldiers were replacing the older ones who were being discharged from service.

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#### EGYPT

**I**NTEREST in military affairs in Egypt centred upon the Government's new aviation policy. It was made clear that the Government was favorably inclined toward reorganization and expansion of the national air forces, both civil and military. The Ministries of War and of Communications on July 20 submitted joint proposals for the development of aviation. These proposals were approved and the Government decided to set aside 150,000 Egyptian pounds [about \$768,750] for preliminary expenditures. An outstanding feature of the program is the provision for the immediate formation of an aviation school at Cairo. In further pursuit of the policy of aeronautical development the Egyptian Council of Ministers on July 26 approved the dispatch of a party of aviators to Europe to study civil and military aviation.

#### FRANCE

**T**HE dissemination of Communist propaganda in the army occasioned much discussion in official circles during the latter part of the Summer, and subsequently a campaign to rid the army of the alleged Soviet agents was inaugurated. Many suspects were arrested during September and, of these, a considerable number were convicted and sentenced to prison for terms ranging from one to three months. Robert Bouteille, son of the Deputy for the Oise, was arrested for selling an anti-militarist paper on the streets of Paris. It was charged that Bouteille walked the boulevards crying "Down with militarism!" and "Down with the war in Morocco!" The Government declared that French Communists had launched a drive to undermine the morale of the national army, and that prosecutions would continue until the movement had been suppressed.

# Prehistoric Man in the Light of Today

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, Science Service, Washington, and Special Correspondent at the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Southampton, England

THE knowledge of man's past is being constantly enlightened by the searches that scientists are making on all continents. Two new discoveries of bones of ancient man have been made this season. One of these shows that cousins of modern man, the Neanderthal race, roamed the holy lands of Galilee at least 20,000 years before the birth of Christ. The other important find promises to upset one of the anthropological traditions of America, that is, that prehistoric man did not live in the New World.

A joint expedition of the Smithsonian Institution and Amherst College has unearthed at Melbourne and Vero, Florida, human remains in close association with the bones of mammoths and mastodons that became extinct not long after the Pleistocene or Ice Age, probably placing the antiquity of human habitation of the North American Continent on a level with that of Europe. Not only do the excavations show prehistoric men lived in America at the same time as did the mammoths and mastodons, but they also demonstrate that those now extinct elephants survived in the South 10,000 to 50,000 years later than in other parts of the continent. Dr. J. W. Gidley of the Smithsonian Institution in cooperation with Professor F. B. Loomis of Amherst, directed the excavations, which revealed a crushed human skull, together with stone arrow heads, ten feet below the surface in close association with prehistoric animal remains. Similar deposits were found in three different places near Melbourne and at Vero, showing that the remains are typical of a wide extent of country. In the more recent accumu-

lations of limestone shells lying above the mammoth and human bones were found fragments of pottery, while in the sand below the elephant layer were discovered the teeth of horses, camels and sabre-tooth tigers typical of the Pleistocene period of 50,000 or more years ago. Dr. Gidley states that there is every evidence that the human remains were not buried in the mammoth strata at some more recent time, but that they were deposited during the same period and in a similar way to the animal bones.

The discovery of the existence of this distinct layer of ancient elephant and human relics not only shows that man was a contemporary of the mammoth on this continent, as in Europe, but reveals for the first time that the big elephants probably survived for thousands of years later than has hitherto been thought. Dr. Gidley estimates that these American elephants lived in Florida perhaps 10,000 years after those whose remains were recently discovered in the former swamps of Indiana, and which have been assigned to the late Pleistocene or Ice Age. The crushed skull found at Melbourne is being pieced together in an effort to determine whether this human contemporary of the mastodon had the same type of head as modern Indians or whether he shows the characteristics of a more primitive cave man. One of the finds associated with the elephant and human bones has already been identified as being the remains of a *Chlamytherium*, a big-bodied, short-legged animal with overlapping scales like an armadillo, but with teeth similar to those of a sloth. Vero, Flor-

ida, was the centre of a spirited controversy several years ago when human skulls, claimed to be prehistoric, were found there. Doubt of an antiquity greater than that of the Indian races seems to have been justified, and for this reason further reports on the latest finds, whose antiquity seems to be better authenticated, are being awaited with interest.

### THE GALILEE SKULL

The last mortal remains of a twenty-five-year-old youth, dignified by the name of the Galilee skull, were exhibited to the British Association for the Advancement of Science meeting at Southampton by the anthropologists who discovered them in an ancient cave not far from the shores of the biblically important Lake of Galilee. There, associated with animals and flint implements corresponding to the Mousterian culture invariably marking the surroundings of the Neanderthal man of Europe, fragments of a skull were dug out of previously undisturbed earth by F. Turville-Petre of Oxford, working under the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Since Palestine has recently come under British mandate, that area is now open to modern scientific exploration. Sir Arthur Keith, leading British anthropologist, after a study of the skull fragments, concluded that they are evidence of another race or breed of Neanderthal men, contemporary with those creatures who lived in European caves some 20,000 to 40,000 years ago. The race represented by the newly found Galilee skull is not in the direct line of ancestry of man, but its individuals were rather the cousins of modern man. Yet under the rough visage, the protruding eyebrow ridges and the somewhat ape-like features, this variety of Neanderthal had a really human brain. It was a true human being that lived in mud in Mughareh el Zuttiyeh cave, near the plain of Genesareth, 20,000 to 30,000 years before the days of Abraham, the wanderings of the Israelites and the age of miracles.

A pushing backward of the antiquity

of Egyptian culture was also reported to the annual meeting of British scientists. Professor Sir Flinders Petrie reported that beneath a settlement dated to the prehistoric age already known the works of a still earlier culture have been found, now termed Badarian, from the name of the place thirty miles south of Asyut. The pottery is finer and thinner than any later in Egypt. Glazed beads, an ivory statuette of Asiatic type and a pottery statuette of Mediterranean type were found, together with flint work of the style known as Fayum. Large sites of this earliest culture of Egypt have been found, and, since the excavations are at a level which was covered by water of the Nile after 10,000 to 13,000 B. C., the recently discovered culture can be assigned to an age corresponding to the Solutrean of Europe.

### PROBLEM OF SLEEP AND REST

While one set of scientists is discovering the puzzling past of man, others are successfully studying the man of the present. Condensed sleep is the latest possibility for man's improvement. When it comes to resting body and mind, we take it for granted that a third of our existence should be monopolized by sleep. An occasional individual, such as Napoleon or Thomas Edison, has dared to accuse sleep of being a dawdling, inefficient parasite and to insist that it should do its work in three or four hours of intensive application. When defied like this, sleep apparently does squeeze its activities into the allotted scraps of time. Whether its efficiency falls off, however, has never been scientifically proved. As a first step toward new light on this problem, eight students and one psychology professor at George Washington University in Washington, D. C., spent a sleepless week-end. Throughout their vigil they were given a variety of practical mental and physiological tests by psychologists and doctors, with the aim of unraveling some of the mysteries of sleep. The relation of lack of sleep to mental and physical efficiency is not

definitely known, says Dr. Fred A. Moss, head of the university psychology department, who conducted the mental tests and at the same time went sleepless for sixty hours with his students so that he might better understand their experience.

"Various theories have been advanced explaining the effects of loss of sleep, and hundreds of contradictory statements have been issued in regard to it," he explains. "There are those who claim that we need as much as ten hours of rest and those who think efficiency can be maintained on as little as four hours each night. Some claim that lack of sleep causes marked falling off in the efficiency of mental work, and some that the mind is not affected by accumulation of considerable fatigue. Some experimenters have found evidence that the chief changes caused by loss of sleep are in bodily reactions, and data of others indicate that the body is very little affected by loss of two or three nights' sleep. Another new and controversial subject is whether fatigue plays any important part in automobile and other traffic accidents. And the effect of caffeine as a stimulant is not fully tested. Our preliminary experiment was designed to furnish general data on as many practical angles of the subject as possible."

The entire psychology department of the university arranged to study the mental condition of the volunteers, and professors of the medical school cooperated with them, to make analyses of the blood, count the red and white blood cells, take blood pressure readings, and make other physiological studies as fatigue progressed. From the time that the students arose at 6 A. M. on Friday until six of them went back to bed at 6 P. M. on Sunday they spent a large part of their sixty-hour experiment taking tests at regular intervals. Two of the eight became so interested in the prog-

ress of the experiment that they insisted on adding another sleepless night to their record so that data on eighty hours of wakefulness might be obtained by the professors. The early returns of the mental tests show that the mind can withstand fatigue with considerable fortitude. The students not only engaged in brainwork at different stages of the experiment and demonstrated their ability to remember automobile license numbers flashed before their eyes for two seconds, but they were also persistently cheerful and ready for anything. To all inquiries as to how they felt they invariably reported that they felt fine and that they were not very sleepy. Only their eyes showed the strain. The ability of the students to pull themselves together and to do difficult mental work after being awake forty-six or even seventy-two hours indicates that a considerable loss of sleep does not necessarily render the brain dull and sluggish, but the additional energy needed to keep the brain engines working at high pressure may have a depleting effect on other parts of the body.

Dr. Moss, who knows from experience that his brain works smoothly on six hours of sleep, says that he would like to find out definitely whether or not the normal adult really needs eight hours of sleep to keep his engine running in proper shape. If an average human being can maintain full efficiency on six hours or less without suffering ill effects immediately or later we ought to know it, and not continue to spend so large a part of our lifetime in bed, he believes. He figures that the individual who lives the allotted seventy years has only forty years of strong adulthood in which to do his real life work. And he spends two-thirds of the forty years eating, sleeping and playing. If a third of his sleep can be cut off without injury he could add five years of working time to his career.

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# A Month's World History

## Events in the United States

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University, Chairman of the Board of  
Current History Associates, and

ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE

Professor of Government, Harvard University

PRESIDENT Calvin Coolidge remained at White Court, Swampscott, Mass., throughout the month of August, except for a brief visit in the middle of the month to his father in Plymouth, Vt. He left White Court on a special train on Sept. 9 for Washington, D. C. The Presidential party arrived back in Washington on Sept. 10, and the Chief Executive resumed the routine of his office at the White House.

During the last days of his stay at Swampscott President Coolidge continued to give close attention to governmental problems, receiving a steady stream of visitors, including influential members of Congress and high administrative officials, who came to discuss public and party business. Reports indicated growing confidence that the principal measures favored by the President, adhesion to the World Court and further reduction of taxes, would be favorably considered by Congress at the next session in accordance with his recommendations.

Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon, Senator Reed Smoot of Utah, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Representative John Q. Tilson of Connecticut, Republican floor leader in the House of Representatives, who visited the President at Plymouth on Aug. 17, also assured him that a substantial reduction in the income taxes would be authorized by Congress prior to March 15, 1926, the date by which income tax returns for 1925 have to be filed. On Sept. 4 it was announced at White Court that President Coolidge be-

lieved that tax reduction should apply to this year's incomes.

According to Senator Watson, President Coolidge was particularly desirous of bringing about a general consolidation of railroads as a means of relieving the transportation situation and solving the rate problem, and had come to the conclusion that legislation to compel consolidation would be imperative at the next session of Congress. The President expressed his hope earlier in the Summer that voluntary consolidations would go forward under the present law, and, though recognizing that uncertainty concerning the decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the matter of the proposed Van Sweringen Nickel Plate merger was holding back other proposals, expected that similar projects would presently be brought forward. The President's view was understood to be that the consolidated railroad systems should be big enough so that rate adjustments could be made which would not starve some roads while enriching others. To this end, Senator Watson said, he would introduce legislation giving the railroads five to seven years in which to effect voluntary consolidations, after which time consolidation should become compulsory.

President Coolidge took an active part in the negotiations with Belgium which resulted in the conclusion of an agreement at Washington on Aug. 18 between the American Debt Commission and the Belgian representatives for the funding of the debt. On the previous day Secre-

tary Andrew D. Mellon and Senator Reed Smoot of the American Debt Commission conferred with the President in Plymouth, Vt., and the terms upon which the American Government would enter into an agreement were finally arranged. The agreement was formally submitted to the President for his approval at White Court on Aug. 20.

The President refused to intervene in the negotiations between the anthracite coal operators and the mine workers for the purpose of averting the coal strike, which was threatening throughout the month of August. On Sept. 1 the strike became effective and still the President declined to intervene, expressing the opinion that no coal shortage was imminent and that no occasion for Federal intervention had yet arisen. On that date, however, the President conferred at White Court with John Hays Hammond, Chairman of the Federal Coal Commission of 1923, whose report was favorably mentioned in the ensuing presidential message to Congress. It was announced that, while keeping his hands off for the present, he intends to recommend again to the next Congress, for the prevention of future strikes, the adoption of measures substantially identical with those proposed by the Coal Commission of 1923. Reports from White Court indicated that, in the President's opinion, there was no justification for profiteering in coal on account of the strike.

It was understood that President Coolidge was following closely the developments in the case of Colonel William Mitchell preliminary to framing a policy in this matter. Colonel Mitchell, former Assistant Chief of the Army Air Service, faced the possibility of trial by court-martial for having on Sept. 5 issued a statement attacking in caustic terms the



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COM. Z. LANSDOWNE

The commander of the Shenandoah, who lost his life in the wreck of the dirigible

War and Navy Departments for alleged mismanagement of the air services.

Federal assistance in some form to commercial aviation was discussed with the President on Aug. 24 by Senator Hiram Bingham of Connecticut, a White Court visitor. Senator Bingham advocated the creation of

a Government inspection service for commercial airplanes and the establishment of light-houses on land for their guidance over the principal trade routes. In furtherance of these services he proposed the addition to the Department of Commerce of a new bureau, to be known as the Bureau of Air Navigation. Senator Bingham reported that the President looked with favor upon his suggestion. These plans were also endorsed by Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, who announced at Washington on Aug. 25 that the subject had already received careful study in his department. Secretary Hoover, like the President, opposed anything in the nature of a government-aid subsidy for commercial aviation.

It was announced at White Court on Aug. 25 that in the President's opinion much of the current publicity concerning drastic reductions in the Army and Navy and sweeping curtailment of operations by Shipping Board vessels was designed to create in the public mind a belief that important national interests were suffering through excessive economy. The President let it be known that this propaganda would not be allowed to interfere with his tax-reduction program.

#### THE SHIPPING BOARD

Official opposition to the proposed reduction in the expenditures of the Shipping Board caused serious dissensions within the board itself. President Coolidge on Aug. 27 demanded the res-



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COL. WM MITCHELL

United States Army officer whose criticisms of air policy are causing controversy

ignation of Commissioner Bert E. Haney, Democrat, of Oregon, who had been an outstanding critic of the management of the Emergency Fleet Corporation by its active head, Admiral Leigh C. Palmer. The President charged Commissioner Haney with attempting to bring about the removal of Admiral Palmer from his position, contrary to the understanding upon which Commissioner Haney was reappointed earlier in the Summer. Commissioner Haney, who refused to resign, issued a statement denying that he promised the President that he would cease his opposition to Admiral Palmer and charging that Admiral Palmer was remiss in his administration of the Fleet Corporation.

Chairman O'Connor of the Shipping Board was also involved in attempts to discredit Admiral Palmer's administration of the Fleet Corporation. He was reported to have asserted that the Leviathan would be withdrawn from service if the appropriation of the Shipping Board should be reduced. Admiral Palmer, who alone would have the power to withdraw the ship from service, promptly declared that no such move was contemplated, but that, on the contrary, the important shipping services of the Government fleet would be maintained, even if the appropriation should be reduced from \$18,000,000, as desired by the Fleet Corporation, to \$15,000,000, as proposed by the Budget Director.

President Coolidge let it be known on Sept. 1 that he would support Admiral Palmer of the Fleet Corporation in any controversy over finances with the Shipping Board and intimated that if the Shipping Board unduly interfered in the business of the Fleet Corporation, the next Congress might repeal the law creating the Shipping Board and transfer its duties to a bureau of the Department of Commerce.

Dr. Henry C. Taylor, Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, resigned on Aug. 20 at the request of Secretary Jardine of the Department of Agriculture. This action was the result of friction between Dr. Taylor and Mr. Jardine which originated during the ses-

sions of the Coolidge Farm Commission, on which Mr. Jardine served before his appointment as Secretary of Agriculture. Dr. Taylor had been charged with hostility to the commission and to its recommendations. In his place Secretary Jardine selected Thomas P. Cooper of Kentucky, Dean of the College of Agriculture in the University of Kentucky. The Civil Service Commission on Aug. 26 declared that the Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics could not be appointed arbitrarily by the Secretary of Agriculture, since the position was in the classified Civil Service. The Department of Agriculture announced that Dean Cooper would submit to the prescribed examination and meanwhile would take office under a temporary appointment on Sept. 1.

The Civil Service Commission itself was attacked by interests supporting the Federal Personnel Classification Board, with which it has been at odds. The recent death of Commissioner Helen H. Gardener created an opportunity to put on the commission some one more friendly to the classification board, and press dispatches on Aug. 24 suggested that an attempt would be made to force the resignation of one of the remaining Civil Service Commissioners in order to enable President Coolidge to reconstruct the commission.

Controller General J. R. McCarl became involved in a controversy with the Department of Justice over the handling of a recent case before the Court of Claims, which was decided against the United States. The Controller General had refused to allow a claim for \$1.50 for a meal eaten by a Federal official at Washington while in Alexandria, Va., on public business. The official brought suit for the amount claimed to be due him and the attorney designated by the Department of Justice to defend the suit failed to utilize important points in the brief prepared by the Controller General's office. Controller General McCarl believed the issue, which related to the interpretation of the act of Congress governing payments for subsistence to officials traveling on public business,

to be important, and announced that he would not follow the ruling of the Court of Claims in similar cases which might arise, but would continue to act upon his own interpretation of the law. On Aug. 21 he made public a letter to Attorney General John G. Sargent, embodying his criticisms of the conduct of the case.

#### PUBLIC LANDS INVESTIGATION

The subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Public Lands began its field investigation of the nation's public domain problem on Aug. 26. Members of the committee declared that this inquiry was of far-reaching importance to the country since it involved not only the rehabilitation and perpetuation of the Western live stock industry, but also the living problem of every family on the land. The first hearings at Salt Lake City, Utah, were devoted to the national cattle and sheep growing organizations.

#### PROPOSED DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

President Coolidge gave some attention to the proposal that a new executive department of Cabinet rank be created which would have jurisdiction over the educational activities of the Federal Government. Payson Smith, Commissioner of Education in Massachusetts, together with A. Lincoln Filene and Mrs. Frederick E. Bagley, officers of the National Committee for a Department of Education, were received at White Court on Sept. 4. The President was reported to have agreed with them that a new Cabinet office would be desirable. He would prefer, however, a Department of Education and Relief, which would take over not only the educational activities of the Federal Government, but also the Veterans' Bureau and several other similar activities now distributed among various departments.

#### LAW AND ORDER.

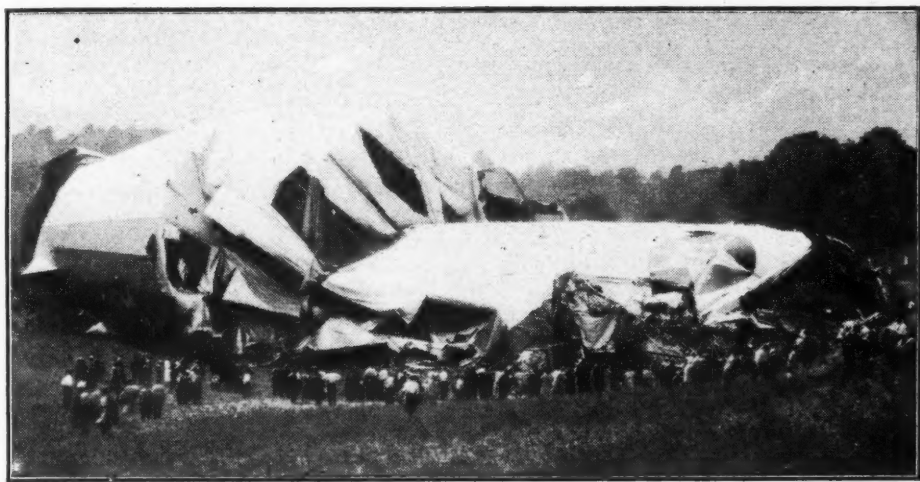
General Lincoln C. Andrews, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and head of all the dry law enforcement agencies in the Treasury Department, announced on Aug. 21 his long-awaited selections

for the chiefs of the twenty-four districts into which the country has been divided for administrative purposes. Five of the new appointees were former army officers, one was a railroad executive, and the others were former State prohibition directors or otherwise employed in the prohibition enforcement organization. General Andrews announced that, after meeting the higher officials already in the service, he had decided that it would be a mistake not to give most of them a chance to operate under a system which he believed would "give more power and efficiency to the field enforcement of prohibition." According to newspaper reports, however, General Andrews's failure to choose more new men from outside the service for district administrators was the result of strong political pressure to retain the existing personnel. General Andrews declared that several of the appointments from the old force were to be regarded as provisional only, and that the incumbents would not be retained unless they proved satisfactory.

At the same time General Andrews made public a memorandum for the guidance of the new district administrators. This memorandum emphasized the Federal responsibility for breaking up the principal sources of supply and stopping large-scale bootlegging, while leaving the petty offenders to the local authorities and relying mainly on voluntary organizations to educate the public so as to spoil the market for bootleg liquor.

The National Crime Commission, whose organization was reported last month, announced through its chairman, Assemblyman F. Trubee Davison of New York, that it would employ a competent crime statistician and that the collection of accurate statistics would begin at once. Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School, in a statement published Aug. 30, pointed out some of the difficulties in diminishing crime, emphasized the limitations of propagandist methods in attacking such a problem and the likelihood of unwise and ineffective legislation and appealed for





Wide World

The Shenandoah as it looked at Ava, Ohio, after being wrecked in a thunderstorm

the endowment of crime research in law schools. Mark O. Prentiss, organizer of the Crime Commission, on Sept. 2, replied to Dean Pound in a public statement, saying that the law schools have been studying the problem of crime for a long time with little result, charging the "complete collapse" of criminal justice, and holding the legal profession chiefly responsible for existing conditions.

On Aug. 25 a war between rival Chinese tongs, which had broken out in Boston, spread to other large cities, and in three of them deaths of Chinese resulted. The police acted promptly to bring the hostilities to an early end. It was reported on Aug. 26 that a truce between the warring tongs had been arranged at a conference held in New York police headquarters.

#### POLITICS

The contest for the Democratic nomination for Mayor of New York attracted widespread interest owing to the fact that Mayor John F. Hylan was supported in his campaign for a third term only by the regular Democratic organization in Brooklyn and the so-called "Hearst" interests. State Senator James J. Walker of Manhattan, the other can-

didate, was supported by the regular Democratic organizations in Manhattan and the Bronx and Governor Alfred E. Smith.

Interest in Republican affairs centered about the publication on Aug. 21 of a letter which had been addressed to President Coolidge by William A. Aiken, the 92-year-old "Green Mountain Boy," who voted for Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and who, in telling President Coolidge that he voted for him in 1924, expressed the hope he might do so again in 1928. The President replied that he was "most pleased" to receive such a letter but otherwise he did not commit himself with reference to a renomination.

#### IMMIGRATION AND LABOR

Figures which have become available show that net immigration under the Quota act of 1924 during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1925, was 69 per cent. less than during the preceding year. According to estimates by the National Industrial Conference Board, the total number of aliens who arrived during the year specified exceeded the number who departed by 201,586, as against an excess of 630,107 during the previous twelve months. The total number of arrivals was 294,314; the total number of

departures 92,726. Among the countries whose quotas were unfilled were Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Germany and the Irish Free State. In the case of several countries, notably Italy, Portugal and several of the Balkan States, immigration was exceeded by the number of those returning from the United States to their native lands. Only 6,203 Italians arrived during the year, as against 27,151 Italians who returned to their native country.

A conference between American and Mexican labor leaders was held on Aug. 30 at Washington, D. C., for the discussion of problems growing out of the migration of Mexican labor into the United States and of American capital into Mexico. The conference agreed to recommend that the American and Mexican Governments, in seeking to control illegal and excessive migration across the border, should recognize at the same time the obligation of each to restrain its own nationals from emigrating to the other country "in such a way as to

menace the conditions of life and the institutions of other peoples."

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE

The naval airplanes PN-9 No. 1 and PN-9 No. 3 left San Francisco on Sept. 1 on a non-stop flight to the Pearl Harbor military base in the Hawaiian Islands, 2,100 miles away. The second machine was disabled by an accident 400 miles off California and was towed to port. The first machine, commanded by Commander John Rodgers, ran out of fuel and was forced down 1,000 miles out at sea. The machine was lost for ten days; after a search in which the entire Pacific Fleet participated the plane containing the complete crew of five men was found on Sept. 10 by the submarine R-4, drifting fifteen miles off the Hawaiian coast. All the men were in good health.

On Aug. 19, it was announced at Washington that the MacMillan Arctic Expedition had abandoned its attempt to explore the Polar Sea by airplane.

## The United States: Social and Economic Developments

By DAVIS R. DEWEY

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#### PUBLIC FINANCE

FEDERAL income tax returns were opened to public inspection on Sept. 1. A few newspapers in large cities refused to publish lists on the ground that such publication was an unwarranted invasion of privacy, and that it constituted a public damage rather than a public benefit. Other newspapers published pages of returns, which made it unnecessary for individuals to resort to personal inspection in order to satisfy their curiosity. John D. Rockefeller Jr. paid the largest personal amount, \$6,278,000, and the

Ford Motor Company, the largest corporation income tax, \$16,493,000. The latter was followed by the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, \$13,000,000, and the United States Steel Corporation, \$11,000,000.

The Treasury Department announced on Aug. 31 that the United States had received \$18,000,000 from Germany under the operation of the Dawes plan, due to costs of the American Army of Occupation and to claims of American citizens.

The Connecticut law imposing a tax on moving picture films was declared

constitutional by a special Federal Court on Aug. 17; as a result of this decision, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., announced that, on expiration of present contracts, they would cease to distribute films in that State.

#### BUSINESS

At the hearings of the Senate Committee on Public Lands in the Far West in August and September, cattle and sheep men complained of the burdensome policy of the Forestry Service. It was stated that considerable portions of national forest had no trees; that the fees imposed for grazing were too high and that vexatious regulations, supervised by rangers ignorant of the problems of cattle and sheep men, hampered the industry. Increased costs passed on to the consumer were the results. Even the construction of good roads in cattle-feeding sections was complained of as increasing the fire hazard.

Business in the South depending upon water and hydroelectric power was seriously hampered by a water famine which extended through Kentucky, Southwest Virginia, Western North Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee. Many farmers sold their cattle. Street cars in Atlanta and Macon, Ga., ran on half schedule. Mills in some sections were obliged to close or run on part time. An official of the Southern Power Company stated that the drought was the worst experienced in thirty-five years.

The State Grange of Massachusetts, various farmers and fruit growers and the State Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen on Sept. 3 filed a bill in equity in the Federal Court against the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in order to test the constitutionality of the Daylight Saving law. In the brief it was claimed that the law had caused a loss to farmers of millions of dollars, had resulted in endangering the lives of railroad passengers, had deprived school children and babies of their sleep and had caused great suffering to the mothers of families.

Reports during September as to busi-

ness conditions were optimistic, particularly in the Middle West. In Chicago building construction continued to increase; for the first eight months of 1925 the valuation of building for that city was estimated at \$256,000,000, as compared with \$201,000,000 for a similar period in 1924. Press dispatches of Aug. 15 stated that plans were under way for the organization of a billion-dollar coal combination, to include more than ten companies located in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio and Illinois.

#### LABOR

The strike of the anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania occurred according to schedule: on Sept. 1, 158,000 workers belonging to 135 companies in 828 mines and 272 collieries ceased operations. It was estimated that a population of 500,000 was directly affected by the strike, apart from the section of the community which consumes anthracite coal, and that the wage loss will be \$1,000,000 daily. Mine operators announced that the price of coal would not be raised during the next few weeks, except for the customary seasonal increases in September and October, and that there was ample stock to supply consumers for two or three months. Some of the miners went on record as favoring the nationalization of the coal lands at a cost of \$4,500,000,000 and the leasing of these lands to private operators under governmental supervision. Others recommended that President Coolidge ask Congress to give the President direct control over mines with power to distribute coal in case of emergency, a recommendation originally made by the Coal Commission in 1923. Governor Fuller of Massachusetts, on Aug. 23, ordered the purchase of 1,000 tons of low volatile smokeless bituminous coal from West Virginia to be tested out in State institutions, as a possible substitute for anthracite.

A movement was launched at Cleveland on Aug. 25 to organize the 360,000 postoffice employees, now organized in eleven groups, into one central federa-

tion. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor sent an open letter on Aug. 16 to President M. G. Pierce of the American Woolen Company, protesting against the reduction of wages by highly protected textile manufacturers; Mr. Green also declared that he intended to bring the facts concerning recent wage reductions to the attention of Congress and to demand that the manufacturers who did not pay high wages should be deprived of the special privileges which they enjoyed under the protective tariff.

#### TRANSPORTATION

It was announced on Aug. 27 that Cornelius Vanderbilt Jr. planned to purchase 11,000 acres near Atlanta, Ga., on which would be established the third largest commercial air base in this country. According to proposed plans airplanes would operate from this station throughout the Southern section carrying express, mail and freight, but no passengers. Statements given out by the Army Air Service on Aug. 27 showed that aviation under normal and regulated conditions might be made safe; during the past three years 546 trips were made by this service, covering 11,583 hours of flight and 951,130 miles traversed, with no fatality.

The United States Shipping Board continued to sell ships to private companies. The low price at which the vessels were sold was said by critics to be in effect a subsidy; it was held likely by some that the deals would be questioned by Congress, which had declined to enact direct subsidy legislation at the request of President Harding. The Shipping Board sold vessels as low as \$6 a ton, while foreign steamship lines carry their ships at a rating of \$20 a ton. This difference in capital costs was declared to be a capital bounty and thus indirectly a subsidy.

#### SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL EVENTS

The University of Chicago announced on Aug. 23 that contracts had been signed for the construction on the university campus of a cathedral to

serve as a chapel. The cost will be \$1,700,000. Ohio Wesleyan University on Sept. 2 received a gift of \$1,000,000 from Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Stuyvesant of Cleveland.

An unmarked but significant sign of the progress of the negro race was seen in the annual convention of the National Medical Association, which was held at Chicago in the latter part of August. This association is made up exclusively of colored practitioners; the convention was attended by 2,000 negro surgeons, physicians, dentists and pharmacists from all parts of the country. Evidence of the increasing complexity of social problems was seen in the statement that, according to police records, 1,148 girls under the age of 21 ran away from home in New York City during the first six months of 1925; this is twice the number for the same period in 1924.

Charges of heresy were filed against Dr. Lynn Harold Hough, pastor of the Central Methodist Church of Detroit, and Dr. William H. Phelps, editor of *The Michigan Christian Advocate*, on Aug. 31; the charges relate to the preaching and printing of a sermon on "Charles Darwin, Evolution and the Christian Religion." Dr. Hough was formerly President of Northwestern University.

The Department of Agriculture, in a statement issued on Sept. 2, estimated that 550,000 farms in the United States are equipped with radio; Illinois leads with 46,000, being followed by New York and Iowa, each with 39,000.

The Senate Committee on Public Lands continued its investigation into the alleged grievances being suffered by Oregon Indians; on Sept. 11, chiefs of the Nez Percés appeared before the Committee at Pendleton, Ore., and charged that more than 63,000,000 feet of timber had been sold from their reservations by the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior, without payment to the Indians of a cent of compensation. The witnesses told their stories simply and frankly and said that the bureau records would confirm their assertions.



# Mexico and Central America

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THE Mexican Congress met in regular session on Sept. 1. In his message read at the joint opening session, President Calles referred to the restoration of cordial relations between the United States and Mexico and to the status of the Mexican debt and proposed certain legislation with regard to Constitutional Article 27.

With reference to the nation's financial obligations, President Calles stated that the Government intends to resume payment on the foreign debt, service on which has been suspended since July 1, 1924, "within the shortest possible period consistent with certain unavoidable national needs, which must be fulfilled first." President Calles intimated that the Mexican Government would recommend that the Lamont-De la Huerta debt refunding agreement be modified "so that Mexico's obligations can accord with the real financial capacity of the Government," thereby enabling foreign debt payments to "be resumed under conditions eliminating the possibility of another painful suspension."

Pending a full interpretation of Article 27 of the Constitution, which vests sub-surface ownership of all minerals in the Mexican nation, and "in order to avoid possible friction with foreign Governments," President Calles recommended the enactment by Congress of legislation restricting the issuance to foreigners and foreign corporations of permits to own land, water and property in Mexico. The President further recommended the passage of legislation that would require corporations organized under the Mexican Constitution, whether foreign or native, to be managed by Mexicans, with Mexican capital preponderant in them.

The bitter contest waged between agrar-

ians and radical labor organizations on the one hand, and the more conservative labor organizations, particularly the Regional Confederation of Labor, and President Calles, on the other hand, and radicalism in Mexico continued during August. In mid-August President Calles took a firm stand against the program and the excesses of the radical elements. Speaking before 120 agrarian representatives at the National Palace on Aug. 14, President Calles charged that the local agrarian committees were destroying the judiciary and were using their authority solely for political ends; he asserted that such procedure was leading the country to ruin, and sounded a warning that the Mexican Government would not tolerate a continuance of the alleged anarchistic practices in the application of the agrarian laws.

The agrarian disturbances continued, with increasing violence, into September; on Sept. 3 President Calles made the recent murder by agrarians in the State of Puebla, of one Maurer, a Frenchman, the subject of an emphatic note to the agrarian bloc from Puebla in Congress. The note caused a sensation among agrarian politicians, being interpreted as a general outline of Government policy with regard to the agrarians; the text of the message follows:

I have received your message of yesterday, and inform you that the reports filed in this Presidency are entirely contrary to what you say, for, according to investigations which are being made by both judicial and military authorities, the doers of the crime committed on the person of Maurer were agrarian elements of the town of Atlitxco, Puebla. All this was not done by the peasants but by agitators whose only ambition is to keep their political position, caring very little about the fate of their own fatherland.

The executive power under my charge cannot tolerate any longer, because public opinion as well as the elemental principles of humanity and civilization require it, that such procedure be continued, as it seems that in the State murder is becoming rather a habit, beginning with that of Mrs. Evans, then the one of a German subject, besides those of two Spaniards and several Mexicans, and finally crime has come to its highest in the murder of Maurer.

I beg to inform you that whatever the results of the above-mentioned investigations may be, the executive authorities are firmly decided to put an end to said situation, which is a shame to our country, placing us under the list of savage peoples; and to that effect this Presidency shall take all the necessary steps to prevent such crimes.

The publication of the note was followed, on Sept. 5, by the announcement that the agrarians in the State of Puebla would be immediately disarmed by order of the President. The disturbances took on an international aspect on Sept. 6, when Dr. J. J. Morton, an American agricultural expert, in business near Atlixco, scene of the Maurer murder, telegraphed the American Chargé d'Affaires at Mexico City that agrarians had threatened the lives of himself and his family. Mexican Government troops, on Sept. 7, escorted the Morton family safely to the capital. It was announced at Vera Cruz on Sept. 10 that agrarians had murdered Cesareo Cruz, Mayor of San Cristobal, in the State of Vera Cruz. Meanwhile, murders and prosecutions continued in other parts of the republic; on Sept. 4 Deputy Marino Perez was shot and killed in Mexico City by Deputy Wenceslao Macib, following an argument over an insult to Macib. It was announced on the same day that the Governors of the five States of Nueva Leon, Tabasco, Morelos, Jalisco and San Luis Potosi had been formally charged with abuse of power and that a Grand Jury inquiry would be ordered.

Secretary of Fomento (Public Works and Agriculture) Luis León, on Aug. 15, sharply warned members of the National Agrarian Commission that the Government would adopt energetic measures to deal with any employee vi-

olating the strict letter of the agrarian law. About this time the workers of the Communistic General Confederation called off two strikes; the first was that of the workers of the Ericsson Telephone Company, the second that of 6,000 workers of the Huasteca Oil Company at Tampico. Both these strikes were vigorously opposed by the more conservative Regional Confederation of Labor, of which Secretary of Industry and Commerce Luis Morones is the recognized leader.

As a result of practical agrarianism in Mexico the acreage under cultivation in that country is said to be smaller than at any previous time. Secretary of Agriculture León stated early in August that the land theretofore assigned either as an endowment or by restitution to villages, was approximately 8,000,000 hectares, or one-third of that to which they are entitled.

A split in the Calles Cabinet occurred on Aug. 24 when Gilberto Valenzuela, Secretary of the Interior, and, as such, ranking Cabinet member, sent his resignation to President Calles. Valenzuela's assigned reason for this action was a "substantial divergence of opinion" between himself and the President concerning the Gubernatorial election in the State of Mexico. In a contested election in that State, in which four different bodies were claiming to be the rightful State legislature with authority to certify the election returns to the Secretary of the Interior, President Calles overruled the opinion of his Secretary of the Interior and decided in favor of the Labor candidate, Carlos Riva Palacio. This decision was "openly in conflict" with the "convictions" and "conscience" of Secretary Valenzuela, the leading Conservative in the Calles Cabinet, under whose direction the elections in the State of Mexico were held. The three defeated Gubernatorial candidates in the latter State represented the Liberal, Conservative and Agrarian parties.

The seating of Riva Palacio as Governor of the State of Mexico and the election late in August of Manuel Pérez Treviño, Labor Gubernatorial candidate

in Coahuila, indicated that the Laborites were slowly winning the elections for State Governors.

The international event of chief importance for Mexico during August was an announcement by the British Foreign Office on Aug. 28 that the British Government, "after a satisfactory exchange of views in regard to the outstanding differences with the Mexican Government," had decided to resume "full diplomatic relations" with Mexico. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were severed in June, 1924, when Acting Chargé d'Affaires Cummins was recalled by the British Government after the issuance of an order by President Obregón calling for his expulsion from Mexico. Announcement was made on Sept. 4 that Mexico and Canada had also resumed diplomatic relations. The last fully accredited British Minister to Mexico was the late Sir Lionel Carden, who was forced to leave Mexico by General Carranza in 1914.

The Mexican Government announced on Sept. 7 that its representatives had discovered an international organization which was engaged in smuggling large numbers of immigrants from Mexico into the United States; orders were issued for the arrests of all suspects.

The Bank of Mexico, the only bank in the republic which is authorized by the Federal Government to issue paper money, began operation on Sept. 1; on that date an issue of new banknotes formally re-established paper money throughout Mexico. Due to the issuance of large amounts of worthless paper money by revolutionary leaders subsequent to the Madero revolution, paper currency had been unacceptable since 1917.

## Nicaragua

**PRESIDENT SOLORZANO** on Aug. 28 announced a new Cabinet, which was composed as follows:

EDUARDO LACAYO—Interior.  
FEDERICO LACAYO—War.  
DON J. A. URTECHO—Foreign Relations.  
JOSE DOLOFES ESTRADA—Public Works.

DR. ROMAN y REYES—Finance.

DR. LEONARDO ARGUELLO—Public Instruction.

As a protest against the inclusion of Liberals in the new Cabinet, one hundred armed men, said to represent the Conservative Republican Party, on Aug. 29, raided a reception that was attended by the Diplomatic Corps, Cabinet members, and prominent foreigners; the invaders made prisoners of several prominent Liberals and carried them off to the fortress of La Loma, which is under the command of General Alfredo Rivas, Governor of Managua and commander of all military forces in the capital and of all communications. The captives included Minister of Finance Roman y Reyes and Senator Andrea Larga Espada, editor of *El Diario Moderno*. The following day, through the friendly offices of United States Minister Eberhardt, the Liberal political prisoners were released. At the same time Adan Cardenas was named to succeed Dr. Roman y Reyes as Minister of Finance, and Minister of War Lacayo was removed and the duties of that office were assumed by President Solorzano. American High Commissioner Roscoe R. Hill was appointed by President Solorzano as a member of a commission to confer with General Alfredo Rivas; it was announced on Sept. 9 following several conferences that General Rivas would surrender the La Loma fort to the Government.

## Cuba

**TAX** experts and Treasury officials submitted a report to President Machado on Aug. 30 on the financial condition of the Cuban Government. In the report, which followed an exhaustive study of the question, the experts expressed the opinion that increases in the public revenues might be expected within a few months. The public works fund at the time of the submission of the report was given as \$250,000, a higher figure than the Treasury officials had anticipated.

As a reward for having on July 4

made the first parachute jump from a Cuban airplane, Lieutenant Guillermo Martull was decorated by the Cuban Government with a military merit medal.

Because of bitter attacks made in its editorial columns upon President Machado for having refused to allow a payment in excess of \$1,000,000 to a paving and sewage company on a contract in Matanzas, the entire issue of *El Heraldo* for Aug. 19 was confiscated by the Cuban authorities; the managing editor of *El Heraldo* is a member of the paving and sewage construction company whose claim for payment was disallowed. This claim had been disallowed by the Zayas Administration; the company later won an appeal to the National Debt Commission but President Machado issued a decree suspending payment pending an appeal by the Government.

Following a governmental order suspending the circulation of the conservative Opposition newspaper, *El Dia*, the management of the paper on Aug. 19 suspended publication temporarily. The following morning Armando André y Alvarado, owner of *El Dia*, was assassinated by unknown assailants. *El Dia*

has been actively opposing the efforts of the Department of Interior to clear Cuba of gambling and vice. When *El Dia* resumed publication on Aug. 21, the issue was confiscated under court orders. A libel suit in the name of President Machado was filed against *El Dia* on Aug. 20, and a similar suit was filed against *El Heraldo* by Secretary of Sanitation Daniel Gispert.

## Haiti

FOR the first ten months of the fiscal year ended Sept. 30 the total revenues of Haiti amounted to 34,901,000 gourdes (a gourde is equivalent to twenty cents). This was almost 2,000,000 gourdes more than the total income of Haiti for the full fiscal year 1923-1924. The Internal Revenue System of Haiti on July 31 completed its first year of activity. During the first ten months of the present fiscal year internal revenue collections totaled 3,566,000 gourdes, which represented an increase, without the imposition of new taxes or changes in the rate of taxation, of 73 per cent. over the internal revenue collections for the first ten months of 1923-1924.

# South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

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INTEREST of the press and society in South America has centred on two events during the past month—the work of the Tacna-Arica Plebiscitary Commission and the visit of the Prince of Wales.

The Tacna-Arica Commission, under the Presidency of General John J. Pershing, was reported to be progressing with its work, despite occasional untoward incidents. With national feeling wrought to a high pitch, every happening was interpreted as having political

significance. Peruvian journalists, publishing and circulating a newspaper in Arica, now Chilean territory, were prevented from selling the paper by the Chilean populace until General Pershing and Señor Edwards, Chilean member of the commission, urged the complete freedom for the circulation of any newspaper not maliciously misrepresenting the facts. The Peruvian flag was officially raised in Tacna for the first time in forty-five years when on Aug. 30 it was flown over the residence



of Señor Ordóñez, Peruvian member of the boundary commission. Señor Ordóñez was stopped by Chilean police early in August when he landed from the Peruvian cruiser *Ucayali*, on his way to Tacna. To prevent further unpleasantness, special passes were issued to all Peruvian members of the commission, entitling them to free and undisturbed movements anywhere within the provinces of Tacna and Arica. Only police who were able to recognize the Peruvian delegates were then assigned to duty at the piers. Protest in both houses of the Peruvian Congress marked the reception of the statement attributed to Señor Augustin Edwards, head of the Chilean delegation, that "Chile forgives and forgets." Emiliano Bustos, Governor of Arica, on Sept. 7 refused a request of the Civic Committee of Arica for permission to organize a secret body of guards to protect Chilean interests; the Governor said such was illegal and unnecessary.

General Pershing, together with the Peruvian and Chilean commissioners, made an inspection trip through the disputed provinces on Aug. 13. A Chilean patriotic demonstration occurred in the City of Tacna upon their arrival there. Unofficial protests on the part of Chileans against activities of the American delegation in their investigation of the administration of the two disputed provinces have cropped out in several quarters. At a public meeting in Arica on Sept. 3 dissatisfaction was expressed, and numerous articles and editorials appeared in the local press protesting in more or less veiled terms against American representatives traveling through the provinces and questioning the inhabitants.

A welcome unprecedented in the annals of Montevideo was accorded the Prince of Wales on his arrival in Uruguay on Aug. 14. Upon the docking of the British cruiser *Curlew*, Foreign Minister Blanco boarded the vessel officially to welcome the Prince in the name of the Government and the people. During the royal visitor's stay of three days in Uruguay, he was entertained by

President Serrato and other prominent officials of Uruguay.

A hearty welcome greeted the Prince on his arrival in Buenos Aires on Aug. 17 for a State visit of two weeks in Argentina. As guest of the Government, the Prince's program was filled with social functions, visits to meat-packing plants, ranches and manufacturing concerns.

The Prince, on Sept. 5, left Argentina for Chile, where he spent ten days on an official visit. Entertainment similar to that in Uruguay and Argentina greeted the visitor in the Pacific republic.

President Coolidge expressed his belief that amicable relations between North and South America would be promoted by such congresses as the Pan-American Congress of Highways to be held soon at Buenos Aires. In a letter addressed (Sept. 2) to H. H. Rice, Chairman of the United States delegation to the congress, the President said:

I look forward hopefully to the time when, through the efforts of the delegates to these Pan-American conferences, the two continents of North and South America will be united in physical fact through modern highways as they today are united by bonds of mutual friendship and good-will. I have no doubt that your influence will be exerted toward the furtherance of this desirable end.

A new radio link with Latin America was forged when a high-power wireless station was opened on Aug. 24 at Hialeah, a suburb of Miami, Fla. The station communicates directly with Venezuela and Colombia, as well as with Central American countries. Provision is made for receiving simultaneously fifteen messages on fifteen different circuits.

The value of our trade with Latin America for the fiscal year ended June 30 passed the \$2,000,000,000 mark, being 9 per cent. greater than during the preceding fiscal year. While the value of United States imports from Latin America was 18 per cent. greater than exports to that region, the relative increase of each over the previous fiscal year was decidedly disproportionate, our exports increasing over \$130,000,-

000, while imports increased but \$41,000,000. The bulk of our imports from Latin America came from South America, which supplied 44 per cent., while 39 per cent. of our Latin-American exports went to that continent.

## Argentina

FEDERAL revenues for the first eight months of the present year were largely in excess of those of last year. President Alvear asked Congress to hurry its approval of the proposal to consolidate the short-term indebtedness. The State railway expansion program which provides for a 500,000,000 paper pesos loan in a series of 60,000,000 pesos annually (one paper peso equals approximately 40 cents) was favorably reported by the House Committee.

Several South American republics have in recent years legislated to control the manufacture and especially the importation of firearms in their domain. In a decree of June 12, recently published by the Minister of War, Argentina placed almost prohibitive restrictions upon the importation of all arms and ammunition. Importers protested and requested a modification of the decree.

Hon. Peter Augustus Jay, newly appointed Ambassador for the United States to Argentina, sailed for his post on Aug. 24.

## Bolivia

THE Bolivian Congress on Sept. 1, after a heated debate, voted to annul the election of May 2, when José Gabino Villanueva (Liberal) was chosen President of the republic. Under such circumstances, according to the terms of the Bolivian Constitution, the office of Chief Executive is to be turned over to the President of the Senate until a new election, which must be held within six months.

The annulment was accomplished on the grounds of fraud and the ineligibility of Señor Villanueva. His supporters asserted that he was ousted be-

cause he refused to serve as a "rubber stamp" to President Saavedra (Republican). As sponsor of the movement, President Saavedra is said to have the support of 6,000 troops encamped at La Paz for the celebrations of the centennial of Bolivia's independence. He turned over the office of Chief Executive of the republic to Felix Guzman, President of the Senate, and the new President announced the following Cabinet:

Señor MEDINA—Foreign Minister.  
Señor MOCRO—Interior.  
Señor SUAREZ—Finance.  
Señor FERNANDEZ—Agriculture.  
Señor ANZE—Instruction.  
Señor GUTIERREZ—War.

Señor Robert Villaneuva, brother of the recently deposed President of Bolivia, and formerly Minister of Finance, has been sent to England to serve as Bolivian Consul General at London. He is also to open a Bolivian Treasury for the financing of Bolivian Consulates in Europe.

## Brazil

BRAZIL will be represented at the Sesqui-Centennial International Exposition at Philadelphia in 1926 by an exhibit valued at \$250,000. President Bernardes deems it fitting that the Brazilian Government should reciprocate the participation by the United States in its own exposition in 1922, the exhibit building of which is now used in Rio de Janeiro to house the American Embassy. With the exception of Santiago, Chile, this is the only building in South America owned by the United States in which an embassy is located.

Dr. Raymond Ditmars, curator of reptiles of the Bronx Zoo, taking with him a quantity of venom of the American rattlesnake, sailed recently for Rio de Janeiro, where he will arrange with Brazilian Government institutions for the cultivation of American rattlesnake serum. Heretofore our only supply of snake serum has been the Brazilian product, which is not effective against the American variety of snake.

## Chile

**OUTSIDE** of the Tacna-Arica controversy discussed above, attention in Chile has been centred during the past month on two matters—the plebiscite on the new Constitution and the establishment of a new Central Bank.

On his return from Europe to the office of Chief Executive, President Alessandri and a special committee drafted a new Constitution embodying many of the reforms for which he had fought. A national plebiscite was held on Aug. 31 to determine the acceptability of this instrument. Returns showed a large majority in favor of the Constitution as drafted, without alterations. Popular acceptance of this new law of the land paved the way for Presidential and Parliamentary elections, to be held on Oct. 24.

The President of the Republic on Aug. 23 signed a decree creating a Federal Reserve Bank. This was the first measure adopted of those proposed by the American Financial Commission now in Chile, headed by Professor Edwin W. Kemmerer of Princeton University. This Central Bank has the exclusive right to issue paper money, convertible to gold at approximately the present rate of exchange. The bank will also issue silver pieces of ten and five pesos and will be the fiscal agent for the Government, municipalities, railways and other financial concerns. The establishment of this bank has removed one of the greatest obstacles to normal business conditions in Chile. Much of the highly speculative element attending overseas commerce will be obviated by its operation. For fifty years the capital of the bank is to be 150,000,000 pesos, to be known henceforth as "chilenos."

## Colombia

**THE** last message of President Ospina and recent reports of Colombian Cabinet officers have emphasized the progress of that republic since its finances were reorganized by the Amer-

ican Advisory Commission. The public debt has been amortized to the extent of \$15,000,000, which is one-third of the total. The annual indemnity payments from the United States, of \$5,000,000 each, have all been invested in the construction of public works and there is a cash balance of over \$4,000,000 in the Treasury. The Bank of the Republic, established in July, 1923, at the suggestion of the American commission, now has a gold reserve of over \$27,000,000; a Federal Land Bank has also been founded. National public revenues of over \$40,000,000 and departmental and municipal revenues of approximately equal amount have made possible a balanced budget.

The expenditure of the indemnity payments to Colombia chiefly in railroad construction has brought about renewed interest in that field of development in Colombia. A loan of \$45,000,000 was proposed by New York bankers to bring the railroad now partly built from the port of Buenaventura on the Pacific across the Andes to the capital, Bogotá, and thence to deep-water navigation on the Magdalena River. This project would greatly facilitate communication between the capital and the Pacific and Atlantic seacoasts. The proposed loan was before the Colombian Congress and was meeting with approval throughout the country.

## Ecuador

**THE** military Government resulting from a coup d'état remained in control of Ecuador, pending certain administrative reforms. Confidence seemed to prevail in this new Government. Until the middle of September the United States had not extended de jure recognition to the new Government, though relations were to continue with the de facto Government. This was in accordance with the policy of the United States not to extend full recognition to extraconstitutional Governments in the American continent until they have been regularized. Dr. Rafael H. Elizalde, Ecuadorean Minister to Chile, ar-

rived in Washington on Aug. 20 and conferred with officials of our State Department. It was believed that he presented detailed information as to political and other conditions in Ecuador and was seeking recognition for his Government.

## Peru

THE Province of Tarata was transferred by Chile to Peru on Sept. 1. The formal ceremony marked the execution of the first provision of President Coolidge's award in the Tacna-Arica dispute. Members of the commission attended the ceremony.

The Peruvian Boundary Delegation, connected with the Tacna-Arica Plebiscitary Commission, temporarily discontinued its work on Sept. 5, pending the receipt of satisfaction from Chilean authorities over the seizure of Peruvian soldiers who were leading mules to Tacna for use by a joint party of the commission.

With the resumption of service on the Pascasmayo-Chilete Railway normal service was restored on all Peruvian railways. The actual damage to the

lines of the Peruvian Corporation from the floods of the Spring and Summer was officially placed at \$1,430,000. This amount covered only actual repairs required; it did not include loss in traffic receipts.

## Uruguay

AFTER fifteen years of struggle Uruguay became independent and was founded as a separate republic on Aug. 25, 1825. In commemoration of the centenary of that event, President Coolidge sent the following anniversary telegram to the President of Uruguay:

His Excellency

José Serrato,

The President of Uruguay,

Montevideo.

In reviewing the progress achieved by your country since the inception of its independence, the Government and people of the United States of America rejoice with Uruguay on this centennial anniversary and unite in heartfelt wishes that the sister Republic of South America may enjoy a long era of peace and prosperity. I also offer your Excellency personally the assurance of my own high regard and good wishes.

(Signed) CALVIN COOLIDGE.

# The British Empire

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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## Great Britain

GREAT anxiety was aroused in England by an "unofficial" strike of seamen which broke out on the Thames, at Southampton and in Australian and South African ports on Aug. 22. The movement was in protest against a wage reduction which had been agreed to by the leaders of the unions concerned and was attributed by Havelock Wilson, President of the British National Seamen's Union, to a Communist plot to interfere with British trade and to destroy the influence

of the more conservative labor leaders. Although some dockside rioting was reported and a number of vessels were delayed, no important sailings were prevented in England up to Sept. 5; this situation continued until on Sept. 10 dispatches indicated that the strikers were weakening. The strike coincided with a convention of the "National Minority Movement," an offshoot of the British Communist Party, held in London on Aug. 29. Six hundred delegates attended the meetings, at which Tom Mann, Saklatvala, the Indian Communist member of Parliament from Bat-



tersea, and other radical labor leaders openly advocated revolutionary propaganda in the army, navy and air force. Conservative labor leaders declared that there was no likelihood that the Reds would be able either to undermine the fighting forces or to capture the machinery of the trades unions. Meanwhile unemployment in England continued to increase. On Sept. 1 the Ministry of Labor issued statistics showing that 1,343,700 men were receiving doles, an increase of 45,415 during the preceding week. The registers showed that there were 194,552 more persons out of work than at the same time in the previous year.

The annual report of the Ministry of Health, recently issued, showed that 284,521 houses have been erected in England with State assistance since the war. Subsidies to the amount of £3,000,000 have been paid out during that period in an attempt to meet the demand of the poorer classes for decent homes. The report also showed that during the year 1924-1925 the cost of medical service to persons insured under the National Health Insurance law was £7,429,000. The total insured population entitled to treatment was stated to be 12,650,000.

At the Trade Union Congress, which met at Scarborough on Sept. 7, the extreme left of the labor movement were defeated in an effort to have the Congress grant to the General Council authority to declare a general strike in sympathy with any individual union on strike. On the other hand, a resolution from the left advocating the creation of "shop committees" in all British workshops was adopted by a large majority. The outstanding feature of the meeting was the unsuccessful attempt of the communistic element in the Congress to dominate its proceedings and obtain control of its organization. The Communists continued to exercise influence, however, and scored a point when on Sept. 10 the Congress voted in favor of the organization of a new International Federation of Trade Unions which would include the Russians.

## Ireland

THE Irish boundary question again occupied attention during the latter part of August because of rumors that the commission to rectify the line between the Free State and Northern Ireland had decided to award a considerable amount of the disputed territory to the Free State. On Aug. 26 Captain Charles C. Craig, M. P., a brother of the Premier of Northern Ireland, Sir James Craig, in a public address appealed to the British Government to call a conference between the two Irish Governments. The Irish press generally attributed the suggestion to the Ulster official's advance information that the report would be unfavorable to Northern Ireland, and to a belief that a conference would be necessary if the risk of an armed clash on the border was to be averted. On Aug. 29 J. M. Andrews, Ulster Minister of Labor, publicly declared that any attempt to separate Derry, Enniskillen or Newry from Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom "would be resisted by the Ulster Government by every means within its power." From Dublin came reports that the Free State was opposed to a conference such as that demanded by Captain Craig. Sir James Craig, the Ulster Premier, in a speech in Parliament on Sept. 7, said that his Government would hold to its original position on the boundary question.

The economic outlook continued to darken in both parts of Ireland. At Belfast it was officially stated that in consequence of the continued prevalence of unemployment and the necessity of authorizing further borrowing powers for the unemployment fund the Cabinet had decided to call a special meeting of Parliament early in September. In the Free State the Amalgamated Railways announced that they would be unable to pay their current dividends on either common or preference shares. The Minister of Finance stated that the Government was unable to come to the assistance of the railroads, and appeals were made to emi-

ployes to accept a voluntary reduction of wages and salary in the amount of 5 per cent. Uneasiness was also caused in commercial circles by the trade returns for the first five months of 1925. The report showed an adverse balance of £10,000,000 for the period and that both imports and exports had dropped by a considerable amount.

## Canada

**PREMIER W. L. MACKENZIE KING** announced on Sept. 5 that the Canadian Parliament would be dissolved in the Fall, and set forth the chief issues upon which the Liberal Party would appeal to the people in the general election which would follow. A renewed popular mandate and a larger majority in the House of Commons, the Premier declared, were necessary to carry through his party's program. Matters which should be dealt with, he said, were Senate reform, railway issues, further tax reductions, solution of the ocean freight rate tangle and a revision of the fiscal system. The Premier also announced the creation of an advisory board on tariff and taxation and important Cabinet changes. The latter included the acceptance by J. A. Robb of the portfolio of Finance, the selection of G. N. Gordon, Deputy Speaker, to succeed Mr. Robb as Minister of Immigration and Colonization, and of George H. Boivin as Minister of Customs.

The defeat of the Liberal Party in the recent New Brunswick provincial elections, taken in connection with reverses in Ontario, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, has raised the hopes of the Conservatives. At a convention of Progressives held at Regina, Saskatchewan, on Aug. 6, party leaders made preparations for a vigorous contest for seats. It was pointed out that the Liberal Government held office in virtue of support by the farmer members of the House and that, in the event of substantial Conservative gains, the farmers might combine with them, informally, for the purpose of preventing

the passage of higher tariff legislation. The Farmer Party leaders declared that neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives had any definite policy that would bring relief to the farmers, and appealed to their supporters to maintain their voting strength in Parliament.

Referring to Canadian independence and to talk of annexation to the United States, Premier King at Kitchener, Ontario, on Aug. 4, declared that he was emphatically opposed to annexation by, or any political rapprochement with, the United States. He was equally against the severance of the ties which united the Dominion with Great Britain and the Empire. "I believe," he said, "that Canada will do more for herself and the world by remaining as she is, an equal nation in a community of nations."

Business conditions showed distinct improvement in practically every section of the Dominion. Experts estimated that Canada's field crops would be worth \$400,000,000 more this year than in 1924, and abundant crops and good harvesting conditions were reported from all of the important grain areas. The metal and building trades showed increased activity during August. Bank clearings in Montreal and Toronto were about 10 per cent. higher than for the corresponding period of last year, while in Winnipeg they were somewhat lower. During July Canadian imports from and exports to the United States were much larger than in July, 1924.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada at Ottawa on Aug. 31, by a majority of nearly two to one, rejected a resolution favoring the arming of trade union members for protection during strikes and lockouts. Legislation prohibiting corporations from maintaining armed forces at such times was demanded.

## Australia

**T**HE strike of Australian seamen on vessels in the coastal trade was terminated on Aug. 6 when an agreement with the employers was signed. Later

in the month, however, occurred a reflex of the British seamen's strike, and by Aug. 27 British shipping aggregating 262,000 tons was tied up in Australian ports.

Sir George Buchanan, after a tour of the Northern Territory, on Aug. 14 submitted to the Commonwealth Government a report declaring that the dual control of this district by the local Administration and the Federal departments was causing hopeless friction and that the territory was suffering through isolation, lack of communications and constant labor troubles. He recommended the construction of a railway on an eastern route to connect with the Queensland lines.

Prime Minister Bruce of the Commonwealth has protested to the British Government against the action of France in asserting rights over Adelie Land, a sector of the Antarctic Continent south of Australia. Australia claims the land by geographical proximity and the right of exploration. The French title is said to rest on discovery.

Dr. Earle Page, the Treasurer of the Commonwealth of Australia, on Aug. 14 presented the budget estimates for the new year, total expenditures being placed at £56,619,000. The actual expenditures for the last financial year were £65,836,000, against a revenue of £68,854,000.

## New Zealand

THE New Zealand budget, introduced on July 24, showed estimates of £29,600,000 revenue and £29,024,000 expenditure for the current fiscal year. The proposals included a slight reduction of the income tax; the exemption of life insurance policies not exceeding £1,000 from death duties, for the purpose of encouraging thrift; and the repeal of the mortgage duty, for the purpose of encouraging lending on rural securities. The satisfactory financial situation indicated by these reductions in taxation was also reflected in the annual statement of the New Zealand Government railways, which last year

made a net profit of £1,567,000, amounting to about 31½ per cent.

## South Africa

THE session of the Union Parliament came to an end on July 26. At adjournment the Senate and the House of Assembly were deadlocked over the Electoral bill. The former insisted upon its amendment deleting the clause which required voters in the Cape Colony who possess both residential and wage qualifications to register in the constituency in which they reside, and as the House refused to concur the bill was lost for the session. The Premier, General Hertzog, in a stormy debate declared that a state of things whereby an opposition majority in the Senate could hold up legislation passed by the Government majority in the Assembly could not continue. Feeling over the rejection of the Electoral bill was the greater because the Senate had previously rejected the Government's important Color Bar bill.

Another Government measure which aroused much discussion but which finally passed the Senate was the Wage bill, providing for the establishment of machinery for fixing a minimum, or subsistence, wage for semi-skilled industries and a fair wage for industries coming under the existing Conciliation act, namely, industries in which both employers and employees are organized. The minimum wage provisions were generally accepted by all parties, but the Opposition declared that it was unwise to make the Government a party to industrial disputes in the field of organized labor at the last and most critical stage of such struggles. The measure was also criticized because it combined the two functions of wage fixing and conciliation in one wage board.

## India

AN event of great significance in the constitutional history of India was the election on Aug. 25 of the first Indian President of the Legislative Assembly, the lower house of the Na-

tional Indian Legislature. The Government of India act provided that for the first four years after the institution of the Assembly its President should be appointed by the Governor General, but that subsequently he should be elected by the Chamber itself. Vithalbai Patel, a prominent Swarajist who formerly was President of the Bombay Municipal Council, was elected by a majority of two votes over Tiruvenkata Ranga-chariar, who has been Deputy President of the Assembly and is a member of the Independent Party. The Autumn session of the Legislature was opened on Aug. 22 by the Viceroy, the Earl of Reading. Lord Reading's speech emphasized the Government's intention to foster agriculture, the country's largest industry, and announced the appointment of a royal commission on currency to consider the rupee exchange. Expressing disappointment at the critical reception which the recent speech of Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, had met in India, the Viceroy characterized that utterance as showing a sympathetic understanding of the difficulties of India's problems. He stated that the time for an inquiry into the desirability of revising the Indian Constitution had not yet come, and declared that discussions in England had confirmed him in the

opinion that no party there would be hurried by threats into premature concessions. Although he held out no hope of a general revision before 1929, he announced that the majority report of the Muddiman committee, which recommended some immediate detailed changes in the existing system, was acceptable to the Government.

The difficulties which the Swaraj party is facing, partly as a result of the natural development and operation of the legislative institutions set up by the Montagu-Chelmsford act, partly through lack of strong and able leadership, have recently been shown in a number of ways. During the last session of the Indian Legislature the Independents often pursued a genuinely independent course in the Legislative Assembly and by voting with the Government upon occasion made the Swaraj control of the House always a matter of doubt. More recently the Swaraj candidate for the Presidency of the Legislative Council in Bengal was defeated. The Government also has been able to carry a number of its measures which were defeated by the Swarajists during the last session. In the Calcutta Corporation the Hindu-Moslem pact has been shattered by the action of nine Moslem councilors who resigned from the Swaraj Party over a religious issue.

## France and Belgium

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

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THE departure upon Aug. 18 of Marshal Pétain for Morocco marked the beginning of a determined attempt to clear up the Riffian situation in a manner satisfactory to France. Premier Painlevé stated that Marshal Pétain went "to establish final plans for the [joint Franco-Spanish] offensive operations now being completed," and a semi-official communiqué in-

formed the country that the Marshal intended "to leave Morocco so organized that there could be no future peril in store for the French protectorate zone."

After the departure of Marshal Pétain events followed swiftly. It was stated in Paris on Aug. 20 that attempts to compound the quarrel with the Riffian leaders had failed. "The French and Spanish Governments," ran the formal



announcement, "are of the opinion that there is no further use in waiting for Abd-el-Krim to acknowledge receipt of their peace conditions." The negotiators from the two countries were therefore recalled and heavy French reinforcements were stated to have reached Morocco, while French and Spanish warships tightened the blockade along the Moorish coasts to prevent gun-running.

Marshal Pétain met Marshal Lyautey at Rabat on Aug. 23 and took over the command. Marshal Lyautey at once started back upon a visit to Paris. It was said in Government circles that there was not the slightest intention of seeming to censure him, for he had performed a remarkable work and would be continued as a kind of Civil Governor of Morocco. The situation, however, called now for a strictly military commander, younger and more active physically than this truly great public servant. Marshal Lyautey was considered nevertheless to have done extremely well, taking into account the inadequate forces at his disposal and the remarkable success which early in the fighting attended Abd-el-Krim's efforts to intimidate many wavering tribes into joining the insurgents.

It was announced on Aug. 27 that a vigorous offensive begun by the French in the difficult Branes country had met with marked success. The French nineteenth army corps, after forty-eight hours of very severe fighting, occupied the entire important district between Kifane and Msila, and not merely held all the territory south of the El Hadar River, but in several places threw advanced guards a mile or two north of the stream. This brought the French within forty miles by fairly direct roads of Ajdir, Abd-el-Krim's capital. The Riffians resisted desperately, and the sirocco made the use of aircraft very difficult, but the French tanks broke through the Moorish lines with great effect. The French have thus recovered nearly all the territory seized by the Riffians in their drive against Fez. It was stated that, as a result of this

and a number of smaller successes, large numbers of Moors who had joined the insurgents were hastening to compound with the French. The Riffians, however, were said to be still maintaining a high morale and had retired to carefully prepared positions. They brought up artillery and munitions in quite the European style, and built roads and trenches and used telephones in a very scientific manner. Abd-el-Krim has hitherto kept most of his native Riffian "regulars" in reserve and only sent his less trained allies into action, but now he is confronting the French with his best troops. The result is that, although Marshal Pétain has nearly 200,000 men at his disposal, no rash claims are being made of an early conquest of the Moors.

September brought two important developments—on Sept. 6 Abd-el-Krim ordered his agent at Tangier to extend an invitation to General de Rivera to send a representative to Ajdir with the Franco-Spanish peace proposals which Krim said had never been communicated to him; on Sept. 9 the new Franco-Spanish offensive opened with invasions upon Krim's territory from both north and south. The offensive opened in full force on Sept. 11, and the allies attacked in such fury along their entire Central Moroccan front that the Moors were thrown back three miles in four hours.

In an address at Strasbourg on Sept. 10 Premier Painlevé expressed the hope that an entente between France and Germany might soon be effected; such, he said, was the "keystone to a universal peace." He added:

I am convinced that war is not the ideal which the real Germany willingly cherishes. If the forces of peace are given their true scope, they will overcome the forces of war, which are still tormenting old Europe.

The strike of the French bank clerks continued into September, both sides holding out stubbornly. The great financial institutions continued their routine work, but all business was seriously crippled. Public opinion was strongly on the side of the strikers, who were considered the victims of "starva-

tion wages"; on the other hand, the bank directors alleged that to grant the clerks' demand would involve a cut of 35 to 70 per cent. in bank dividends, already very low. An attempt by the Minister of Labor to arrange a compromise on the basis of 45 francs per month increase was rejected by the strikers, who seemed determined to stand out for their demand of 100 francs extra. The bank strike reacted in a particularly unfavorable manner upon the progress of the new public 4 per cent. loan, since it deprived the Government of the ordinary means of handling subscriptions. It was announced on Aug. 28, therefore, that the time for closing the books for this loan would be extended to the end of September. Pending a definite statement as to the success of the new issue, some degree of doubt existed as to the ultimate power of this loan to recoup the French financial situation. Unfavorable factors in addition to the extension of the time during which subscriptions to the loan might be entered, were the increased note circulation of recent weeks and continued advances to the State by the Bank of France.

The Fiscal and Penal Amnesty Bill, which was passed by Parliament in July, and which was signed by Finance Minister Caillaux on Aug. 13, had the twofold aim of penalizing the export of French capital and of providing suitable amnesty for the return of capital to such persons as have previously sent funds or securities out of the country for redemption abroad. Under the terms of this law, French capital that has been illegally exported may be repatriated before Jan. 1, 1926, without payment of taxes and without subjecting the owners to the punishment formerly provided. In order to eliminate obstacles to the return of capital, M. Caillaux has decreed the suspension of the law of 1918, under which the importation of funds of any character is rigidly restricted.

Finance Minister Caillaux, in working upon his new budget proposals, was said to be contemplating a heavy reduction in some of the inheritance taxes

which in France often amount to virtual confiscation; on the other hand, he was reported to be aiming at a special tax upon "idle wealth"—the precious stones, rare antiques and costly art objects, which are readily resalable but in which fortunes have often been tied up; such possessions have been hitherto almost untaxable. From such a source M. Caillaux expects to realize some 100,000,000 francs the first year the new tax is imposed.

René Viviani, former Premier of France and twice his country's representative on important missions to the United States, died on Sept. 7 at the Malmaison Sanitarium, Paris, where he had been a patient for the last two years. He had never recovered from a complete breakdown following the death of his wife. As Premier of the republic in 1914 and through the first fateful year of the World War, and later as a leading member of the French delegations to Washington in 1917 and in 1921, he became a world figure in political affairs. He was born in a little village in the interior of Algeria in 1863 and was intended by his mother for the priesthood, but chose the law and settled in Paris, where, in the course of a long career, there came to him almost every political honor short of the Presidency.

With Parliament adjourned, French politicians for the most part took a vacation from partisan contentions. One exception, however, was the National Congress of the Socialist Party, which was held in Paris on Aug. 16. The proceedings were not of a very important nature except so far as they concerned M. Alexandre Varenne, a distinguished Socialist Deputy who had accepted the post of Governor General of Indo-China. It was strictly contrary to the policy of the party for its members to hold office under a "bourgeois" Cabinet; and, despite protests by his friends, M. Varenne was expelled from the party by 2,113 votes to 381. This action, it was declared, was not due to any personal dislike of M. Varenne, who is very highly esteemed by all mem-

bers of the Chamber, but solely as a measure of party regularity.

There was increased confidence that a Franco-German trade treaty would be concluded before Winter, despite the difficulty which has beset the path of the negotiators to date. Dr. Trendelenberg, the chief German negotiator, was scheduled to return to Paris late in September to resume discussions with M. Chaumet, French Minister of Commerce. It was said that agreement could probably be reached as to the admission of French wines into Germany, but there was likely to be trouble in arranging the terms under which German coal could enter France, inasmuch as French manufacturers had found they could often get lower prices by arrangements direct with the German producers than by getting their coal from the Reparation Commission.

## Belgium

**D**URING August the strike of 80,000 Belgian metal workers continued to draw attention as the foremost domestic issue. The Ministry of Industry and Labor drew up provisional arrangements for the settlement of the strike, but the men rejected the propositions. The delegates for the workers accepted the proposed compromise, as did the Committee of Employers, but the workers themselves repudiated the arrangements of their own officers. Toward the end of August, however, there were signs that the strikers were weakening; the funds of the trades unions were exhausted, and a spirit of revolt was said to be spreading among the men. Prospects of an early peace were strengthened on Aug. 27, when it was announced that 50,000 men in six districts had voted to accept the terms of settlement; 30,000 men, however, continued on strike. Previously at Marchienne au Pont sev-

eral factories had been reopened, the employers having entered into a direct agreement with their workers. Wages were stabilized on the basis of July 1 until March, 1926, but if in the interval the cost of living essentially changed both parties were to be free "to examine the question of wages and decide upon measures to be taken." The Belgian Parliament on Aug. 5 adjourned until Nov. 10. Before adjournment the Senate rejected (71 votes to 56) the proposal to give women the franchise; this vote was cast despite the taunts of the Catholics, who reminded the Socialists that they had undertaken formerly to vote for the measure. Socialist-Liberal opponents of the proposal answered that it was desirable first to pass certain laws "more useful to women"; e. g., one dealing with a married woman's property rights.

The Government continued its war on Communists; it was announced on Sept. 10 that orders had been issued for the deportation of twenty foreigners, suspected of being Soviet agents.

The "Flemish" question continued to prove a considerable problem. The dismissal by the Minister of the Interior of M. Van Opdenbosch, Burgomaster of Alost, for hauling down the national flag over his town hall upon the July 11 holiday and replacing it with the black and yellow flag of the Flemish extremists, awakened a veritable tempest in a teapot. Some 3,000 demonstrators on Aug. 16 paraded the streets of Alost, bearing placards with such inscriptions as "Flemings: do not ask for your rights, take them!" while orators bluntly demanded a "Patrie Flamande," that is a separation of Belgium into strictly Walloon (French) and Flemish provinces. It was stated that the Flemish problem was rapidly becoming more acute.

King Albert and Queen Elizabeth on Aug. 27 left Brussels traveling incognito for a three months' journey to India.

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# Germany and Austria

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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A SENSATION was created in political circles when on Aug. 24 Dr. Karl Joseph Wirth, former Chancellor of the Reich, announced that he had resigned his membership in the parliamentary faction of the Centrist Party and would hereafter play a lone hand politically. During his Chancellorship Dr. Wirth openly implied that the reactionary elements in German politics were more dangerous to the republic than the revolutionary Left. Despite the tacit backing given the Luther coalition with its strong nationalist tendency by the bulk of the Centre, the ex-Chancellor remained a member of the party caucus until Centrist votes helped to pass the recent Government Tariff bill. In his letter of resignation addressed to Konstantin Fehrenbach, also a former Chancellor and the party's present floor leader, Dr. Wirth stated that he would continue to represent "the social and republican Centre," implying thereby that he regarded the majority as anti-republican through its adherence to the Luther coalition. Politically his resignation cost the Catholic deputies their foremost Reichstag leader and foreshadowed a split in the hitherto powerful Centrist organization.

It was semi-officially announced on Sept. 1 that, as the result of a compromise agreement between Prussia and the Hohenzollern family, the latter would recover \$50,000,000 worth of property confiscated by the Prussian Government at the outbreak of the revolution. The property consists of large landed estates, forest domains, castles, palaces and valuable art collections. Three factors were said to be responsible for the agreement: (1) The decision of ex-Crown Prince Wilhelm's suit involving ownership of Castle Oels and a large estate in his favor; (2) the fact that the courts are controlled almost entirely by monarchists; and (3) the desire of the Government to avoid additional heavy expenses in fighting the

apparently hopeless court actions brought by the Hohenzollerns. To be binding, any agreement between the State and the Hohenzollerns will have to be ratified by the Prussian Diet.

It was reported on Sept. 8 that four gigantic trusts were being created for the purpose of controlling the steel, oil and chemical industries of Germany. The German steel trade in Upper Silesia will be dominated, according to this report, by a giant concern founded by Prince Donnersmarck, the ex-Kaiser's intimate friend, and in the Ruhr by the merger of the five largest corporations—the Krupps, Otto Wolff, Thyssen, Rheinstahl and the Rhein C. Elbe-unions. Since the collapse of the Stinnes firm these five concerns produced more than 50 per cent. of the steel manufactured in the Ruhr. They have been drawn together by the necessity of consolidating their credit facilities, funding their short term obligations, regulating their wages and eliminating competition. The same motives have driven the great German oil companies—the Haniel-Riebeck, the former Stinnes property, the German Petroleum Company and other oil concerns, to effect a loose consolidation. The chemical concerns, headed by the powerful Badische Soda and Anilin Fabrik, are following suit.

The evacuation of Düsseldorf and Duisburg by the French and Belgian troops was completed on Aug. 25. The Thyssen firm has placed the damage resulting from the French-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr at approximately \$17,500,000.

The picturesque duel between the Stinnes heirs and the German banks had not yet terminated when this article went to press. In a long statement made public on Aug. 18, Dr. Jacob Goldschmidt, President of the Darmstadter National Bank, set forth the bankers' view of the case. Denying that it was the banks' duty to support em-



barrassed industrial concerns, he accused Edmund Stinnes, eldest son of the late industrial magnate, of having disposed of a portion of the joint heritage at one-third its normal value. Stinnes, on the other hand, declared that the banking consortium had broken faith with the family and was bent on its utter ruin.

German tax receipts for the four months, April to July inclusive, were \$100,000,000 more than estimated, according to the treasury report published on Aug. 29. It was estimated that the taxes should bring in \$500,000,000 in this period in order to balance the year's budget. The report came as a great surprise to all quarters, since it was through Finance Minister von Schlieben's insistence that the present taxation system was absolutely necessary to meet expenses of the present year that the new taxation program was passed by the Reichstag in mid-August.

The surplus from the first quarter showed business less stagnant than estimated by the Finance Minister or

represented in other interested quarters. The *Acht-uhr Abendblatt* saw in the surplus an unnecessary burden to the tune of \$100,000,000 imposed on the people of the country at a time when wages were low and food costs high. Since the newly adopted tax program would not reduce receipts, it was believed that Germany would have a surplus of at least \$300,000,000 this year even after paying sums which must be paid for reparations according to the Dawes plan.

The index number of wholesale prices in Germany as of Aug. 19 was placed at 131.6; it stood at 134.2 on Aug. 12, at 131.3 in May and at 138.2 in January.

President von Hindenburg ended his four weeks' holiday in the Bavarian highlands on Sept. 8. Bavarian officials regarded his stay not only as a compliment to their State, but as a contributing factor in bringing about a better understanding between North and South Germany. Just before the President's return to Berlin it was an-



The River Spree with the Berlin Cathedral in the background

nounced that he had signed an order repealing the emergency law which prohibited the wearing of monarchistic uniforms by former officers and soldiers. This law, which had been in effect for more than four years, was enacted by the late President Ebert under the "protection of the Republic" clause of the German Constitution. The Right press quoted the order, but made no comment, while the Left papers stressed the possibilities of further political murders such as Erzberger's, which caused President Ebert to enact the law forbidding wearing of the uniform.

The visit of the Prussian Minister of the Interior, Herr Severing, to the island of Heligoland in late August, was reported to be for the purpose of deciding whether the inhabitants of the peaceful little village on Germany's formerly strongly fortified possession should be uprooted from their homes and transported to the mainland or be allowed to remain. Five landslides on the island during the past Summer have alarmed engineers, who assert that the island is no longer safe, though it is pointed out that even at the present rate of dropping into the sea the island would not finally disappear for a thousand years. With the fortifications razed, Heligolanders have hopes of a return to the golden past when the island was a popular Summer resort.

## Austria

**A**GITATION for the union of Austria and Germany continued during the month under review. On Aug. 29, 400 German delegates, including thirty members of the Reichstag, headed by President Loebe, arrived in Vienna to attend a non-partisan mass meeting held under the auspices of the Austrian-German People's Federation. Over 100,000 Viennese lined the Danube embankment and bridges as the steamer carrying the guests came in. The delegation was welcomed by the Deputy Burgomaster of Vienna. The next day a record crowd, congregated in Vienna's

City Hall, listened to speeches by President Loebe and other Reichstag members, as well as Austrian political leaders. The speeches, which detailed the political, economic and moral reasons why Austria should be allowed to join Germany, were received with tremendous enthusiasm. All the speakers were unanimous in the opinion that union would ultimately be realized, but warned the people to be patient and not to attempt to effect it by force. President Loebe left Vienna for Paris on Sept. 1 to discuss with former Premier Herriot and Foreign Minister Briand the possibilities of the proposed Teutonic union. It was also reported at the time that the Reichstag President would visit the United States for the purpose of promoting the desired union.

The Austrian Parliament met in special session on Sept. 1 to pass the 1926 budget embodying the stipulations laid down by the League of Nations. It was hoped that such action would secure Austrian release from League control in its present form. The report of the League experts, W. T. Layton and Charles Rist, to the effect that Austria is now capable of existing independently evoked favorable comment in the press. The recent League decision giving effect to these hopes is treated elsewhere in these pages.

It was reported on Sept. 3 that a detachment of 200 Italian troops had crossed the frontier and camped in the Austrian village of Thoerl, notwithstanding protest by the frontier guard. As this constituted the second case of an alleged frontier violation by the Italians within three months, the Austrian Government instructed its Minister in Rome to request an explanation and an apology from the Italian Government.

Protected by virtually a small army of police, the fourteenth Zionist World Congress convened in Vienna during the last two weeks of August. For two days prior to the opening session on Aug. 18 the anti-Semitic Hakenkreuzler kept the city in turmoil; Jewish property was destroyed and persons thought to be Jews were assaulted. Cafés and hotels

on the Ringstrasse had to be barricaded and many shops were protected by iron shutters. No less than 273 persons, including many intellectuals and even State officials, were arrested. It was estimated that the damage to the city and State from the rioting would exceed \$4,000,000. This excluded the cost of the extraordinary police precautions and the loss suffered by hotels and restaurants in their business through canceled patronage or the untimely de-

parture of hundreds of foreigners. A large part of this loss was suffered by the Christian rather than the Jewish element of the population. In accounting for the anti-Semitic excesses, Jewish leaders were inclined to blame Austrian politics. Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, one of the Vice Presidents of the Congress, declared that it "must never again be held in a land which grants police protection rather than extends hospitality."

## Italy

By ELOISE ELLERY

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THE Italian Senate and Chamber of Deputies were in recess during the Summer. In the interim an electrical apparatus was installed, by means of which speakers in the Chamber of Deputies may be heard in the Senate, which is several blocks distant.

The annual manoeuvres of the Italian Navy were held late in the Summer. They included a sham battle between the "enemy" forces and a defending fleet to test the defenses of Italy's southwestern coasts and a review before the King, Crown Prince and high officials of the navy. A fleet of 300 war craft of all types, comprising the entire naval force of Italy, steamed for two hours before the royal yacht. Inspection of detachments of the army was made by Mussolini in his capacity as Minister of War. Among the troops reviewed were the Bersaglieri, in which corps Mussolini himself served before and during the war. Addressing the soldiers on one of these occasions, he told them that next to the teachers they were the great educating force of the nation, inasmuch as they kept daily before the eyes of the people the visible symbol of national idealism.

Mussolini also attended a special celebration in his honor, the unveiling of a tablet on the house where he was born.

July 29, 1883. It was erected by his admirers in the Provinces of the Romagna and the Emilia, thousands of whose inhabitants flocked to witness the ceremony. Numerous addresses were made, eulogizing him and professing unbounded faith in the ideals for which he stands.

Mussolini set forth anew his idea of liberty in a recent interview with a representative of the daily press. His words were reported as follows:

There can be no such thing as liberty. Liberty exists but in the imagination of philosophers who seek their impractical philosophy from the skies. Civilization is the inversion of personal liberty. In the long run it resolves itself into a matter of space—more space, more liberty—and those who would benefit from the advantages of civilization must necessarily pay in the coin of personal freedom. Where liberals call out for liberty they display ignorance of the rudiments of the mechanism of Government. Julius Caesar is my ideal, my master, the greatest man who ever lived.

The principles of Fascism, rather than specific acts of the Fascist Party, were the subject of controversy during the past month, especially between Fascist newspapers and the *Osservatore Romano* (the organ of the Vatican), the former upholding the necessity of violence, the latter condemning it and each side quoting from the Scripture to

support its own position. The Cremona Nuova (the organ of Signor Farinacci, Secretary General of the Fascisti), for instance, reminded the Church that violence had always accompanied great awakenings of conscience and that she would do well to remember her own history; and alluded pointedly to the violence with which Christ drove the traders out of the temple. The Osservatore retorted that violence was not the necessary means to the triumph of an idea; that the Church had submitted to violence, withstanding it only by the invincible force of its own belief, and reminded its opponents that "he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." This led to mirthful comment from the newspaper Piccolo on the audacity with which Farinacci had set up his own exegesis of Scripture against that of the Holy See.

The attitude of the Osservatore received support from a letter addressed by the Cardinal Secretary of State to the organizers of a social week at Lyons. Writing on behalf of the Pope, which gave his utterance special significance, Cardinal Gaspari spoke of the concept of authority. It had been far too much neglected, he declared. "As a consequence there had resulted, on the one hand, disorders of license and anarchy, and, on the other, the desperate recourse to violence, the last expedient for the maintenance of any régime when moral force had ceased to exercise its beneficent rule." The political allusion, though indirect, was sufficiently obvious to arouse comment in the Italian newspapers, for which several of them were sequestered. Speaking before an audience of Fascisti on the general subject of this controversy, Farinacci declared: "The Fascisti are jealous of the sentimental patrimony of the Italian people, having defended the interests of the Church. Religion is above all parties and all the clergy must be non-political, as also must be the organizations of Catholic youth." In sending the Fascist greeting to the Pope he insisted that Fascist violence was really a force in defense of the nation and added that

as Fascism had defended religion it would combat—with blows if necessary—those adopting religion as their political instrument.

A further polemic arose from a statement by the philosopher Benedetto Croce. Senator Croce, referring to an article entitled "Spiritual Imperialism," was quoted as saying that he was offended with the arrogance with which self-appointed promoters of Italian literature and art sought to further Italian influence in foreign parts. These remarks were hotly resented by the Fascist press, which asserted that a man of Croce's temper would not have been capable of understanding a Marco Polo or a Christopher Columbus and that he was utterly unable to comprehend the new and vital Italy of today.

While the meaning and purpose of Fascism were being debated in the press, officials of the Department of Justice were occupied in the interpretation and application of the amnesty decree issued on Aug. 1. In its non-political section it is lenient to very old and to very new offenders, but implacable to offenders against morality. The authorities had been besieged by lawyers in behalf of their clients and by appeals from the prisoners themselves. Among those to whom pardon was extended was one man who had been in prison for twenty-eight years. In Rome the first persons to be set free were a lad of 16 and a woman of 73. It was calculated that about 4,000 persons had been affected.

The re-establishment on July 24 of the impost duty on wheat provoked much discussion, especially in its relation to the cost of living. The public was assured that the question of increasing the production of grain—"The Grain Battle" as it is called—was receiving the closest attention and that the technical commission was assisted by politicians of all parties, by farmers from all parts of the country, by provincial federations and by agricultural societies.

At a meeting of the Cabinet on Aug. 25, it was decided to submit for signature to the King a decree creating a new





Parish church, Bozen, in that part of the Tyrol now under Italian rule

Ministry of Aeronautics. Mussolini assumed this portfolio temporarily. As he is already Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of War and Minister of Marine, this makes the fifth department of which he has assumed direction. It was announced on Sept. 7 that General Prince Maurizio Gonzaga had been officially appointed chief of the Fascist Militia to succeed General Asclepiade Gandolfo, who died on Aug. 30.

From official international discussions of the security compact, Italy for a time held aloof, but on Aug. 31 she formally expressed the desire to be represented at the meeting in London of legal experts for the purpose of clarifying the compact terms, and appointed Signor Pilotti as her representative. Italy has also taken up the discussion of her war debt, has created a bureau known as the Office of Interallied Debts

and has appointed Dr. Mario Alberti, who was associated with Ambassador de Martino in the inauguration of the debt discussion in Washington, as a plenipotentiary with the sole duty of dealing with the debt question.

A statement from the Italian Treasury covering the first month of the fiscal year 1925-26, showed a surplus of 71,000,000 lire, as compared with a deficit for the first month of the last fiscal year. The lira, which has been worth about 3 1-2 cents, was quoted on the Boerse at Rome on Sept. 2 at twenty-five to the dollar for the first time since late in May. The credit of this improvement is given in financial and governmental circles to Count Volpi, the new Minister of Finance.

Exports for the first six months of 1925 amounted to 8,569,000,000 lire or an increase of 1,393,000,000 over the same period of last year. Imports, however, reached 14,427,000,000 lire, or 5,858,000,000 lire in excess of exports, whereas imports exceeded exports for the same period last year by only 2,720,000,000 lire. This increased unfavorable trade balance was explained partly by the importation of grain, owing to the poor crop in Italy, and increased importation of raw material for the unusual boom in industries.

## The Vatican

THE Vatican has just acquired the Villa Gabrielli, situated on the Janiculum, for the purpose of housing the Institute of the Propaganda of the Faith, where priests of all nationalities are trained for service in the missionary field. Commemoration of the death of Pope Pius X was observed by hundreds of pilgrims, who brought wreaths and laid them upon his tomb. Among the pilgrimages to Rome in celebration of Holy Year was that of some 8,000 workmen from Lombardy. The Pope, as a special honor, sent as his representative his Master of Ceremonies to the mass of the Archbishop of Milan at the basilica of St. John in Lateran and later received the pilgrims at the Vatican.

# Eastern Europe and the Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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## Albania

**F**INAL settlement of the dispute between the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the Italian Government over oil concessions in Albania was indicated by a royal decree published early in August in the Italian Official Gazette instituting a board in the Office of State Railroad Administration for the discovery and exploitation of Albanian oil fields. It was understood that in yielding to the insistence of the Italian Government the Anglo-Persian Company gave up half of the oil concessions formerly granted to it by the Albanian Government, and that the areas surrendered included practically all that were known, or even believed, to contain oil in paying quantities.

Inability of Albania and Yugoslavia to reach an agreement concerning the delimitation of a portion of their common frontier led the two States to refer their differences to the Council of Ambassadors. At Belgrade it was regarded as a Yugoslav triumph when announcement was made on Aug. 6 that the Council had awarded Sveti Naum to Yugoslavia in exchange for Piskopeya.

## Bulgaria

**I**T was reported from Sofia on Aug. 25 that ninety court-martial death sentences in connection with recent Communist outbreaks had been laid before King Boris for approval, but that the sovereign, being opposed to capital punishment, would probably sign few, if any, of the number. Two hundred cases were still before the courts.

Returning to their hotel on Aug. 18 from an official visit to the Bulgarian exhibit at the Paris International Deco-

orative Arts Exposition, M. Theodore Youlev and M. Boris Vasov, President and Vice President, respectively, of the Bulgarian Chamber of Deputies, were attacked in the streets by twoscore Bulgarian Communists in protest against the Sofia Government's policy of repression following the cathedral massacre in April. The two officials escaped, but several bystanders were injured.

It was reported on Sept. 7 that two Macedonian chiefs, Burio and Karkalashev, had been killed in a fight at Kinstendil, near the Yugoslavian frontier. Karkalashev is alleged to have been the assassin of M. Petkov, who was killed two years ago on the eve of a projected trip to the United States.

## Czechoslovakia

**W**ITH the hearty support of press and people, the Government is taking steps to free the currency system from all connection with politics by transforming the present Banking Office of the Ministry of Finance into a separate national bank of issue.

Telegrams from Czechoslovakia in the middle of August indicated that fresh difficulties had arisen between Germans and Czechs in Bohemia. In the course of a festival at Karlsbad two German members of the Czechoslovak Parliament, Herren Kalina and Mayer, appeared wearing their old student caps and university colors. They were ordered by the police to remove them, on the ground that the wearing of colors had been specially forbidden. The two men refused to comply and were taken to the police station, where they made a formal complaint. They subsequently presented a statement of their case to the President of the Czechoslovak Assembly

and demanded satisfaction for the alleged violation of their parliamentary immunity.

Another episode in the warfare against the German element in Czechoslovakia—although in this case involving also the religious question—was the Government's seizure, late in August, of the widely known watering place of Marienbad. The celebrated wells, with adjoining forests and other lands, had been leased and managed by a German-Bohemian corporation, but until the recent establishment of control by the Land Expropriation Bureau were considered to be the property of the Abbey of Tepl, whose Abbot, Dr. Helmer, had made a hard but futile fight to retain title. The Government's course was facilitated by litigation in which the Abbey sought to force the corporation to give possession on the ground that the lease had expired.

## Greece

**F**OLLOWING a visit to the royalist stronghold of Megara, early in August, the Greek Premier, General Pangalos, issued a statement to the press, in which he declared that, though the form of the country's Government was not a matter of supreme importance, the new republic, still in an experimental stage, should be adhered to until its worth is clearly ascertained.

The parliamentary commission on the Constitution continued its labors, and during the past month much interest was aroused in its ultimate disposal of the questions of proportional representation and woman suffrage. Understanding from the statement of General Pangalos that the Government had decided against the adoption of the proportional system, M. Papanastasion (head of the Republican Party) published a signed article



Slovak national costumes

in his organ *Democratia*, arguing that since legislation on the electoral system came under the exclusive jurisdiction of the commission the Ministers had no right to take action in the matter.

The work of the Refugee Settlement Commission was interrupted for a short time in early August by the arrest of some Greek members on charges of embezzlement. One of the arrested persons was released, but others are being held for trial.

It was announced on Aug. 29 that an agreement had been reached between the Government and an Anglo-American group represented by the Foundation Company of New York. The company will undertake the reclamation of lakes and swamps in the Saloniki plain and control of the Vardar River, designed to render an area of 280 square miles fit for cultivation.

## Poland

THE Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs for Poland sent a note to Berlin on Aug. 8 contending that whereas the Poles who, under the terms of the German-Polish convention of Aug. 30, 1924, elected to retain their Polish citizenship, had left Germany within the period fixed, part of the Germans who chose to retain their German nationality failed to migrate by the appointed time. "The Polish Government emphasizes," said the note, "that from Aug. 1 [1925] those Germans in Poland who opted to return to their country became foreigners sojourning illegally in Polish territory, and for that reason they are subject to all measures provided in international usage respecting persons of one State being in the territory of another State without permission therefor."

How far apart were the two countries in the controversy is indicated by the rejoinder from Berlin that, while 17,000 out of the 20,000 Germans in Poland who voted for German nationality had left Poland, 11,000 out of 15,000 Poles who chose Polish nationality still remained in Germany.

The country's trade balance continued

unfavorable during the early Summer. The figures for June, published at the middle of August, show an import surplus of no less than 65,785,000 zlotys, and the adverse balance of trade during the first half of 1925 apparently swallowed up 350,000,000 zlotys of exchange, or 60 per cent. of the Bank of Poland's gold reserve and exchange. The trade war initiated by Poland against Germany when, on June 15, the right to export 500,000 tons of coal a month into Germany came to an end has been proved highly unwise. German observers predicted that if persisted in it would bring the zloty currency to utter collapse. With a view to averting that calamity, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, at the end of August, advanced a credit of \$10,000,000 to the central bank of issue of Poland, to run for one year and bearing interest at 4½ per cent.

Statistics published by the International Labor Office at Geneva on Aug. 23 showed that Polish overseas migration had gone most heavily in the past year to Palestine, with Argentina second and the United States third. The figures are: Palestine, 5,724; Argentina, 5,590; United States, 4,290.

A Polish-Lithuanian commercial and political conference was opened at Copenhagen on Aug. 31. The meeting was intended to settle numerous issues between the two countries, including the Memel question and the possession of Vilna. Two days previously the Warsaw Cabinet approved an agreement with Soviet Russia, liquidating the recent frontier incidents, which involved encounters between the border guards of the two States.

## Hungary

WITH a view to opening up larger grain and flour markets in Austria and Czechoslovakia, agricultural interests in Hungary have demanded an end of the high import duties whereby the Government sought to protect and assist Hungary's "infant industries." It was argued that, since the country is, and



must long remain, predominantly agricultural, it was bad policy to maintain a tariff system which closed large potential markets for foodstuffs in adjoining lands.

A recent report of Jeremiah Smith Jr., League of Nations Commissioner-General for Hungary, showed that during the fiscal year ended June 30, proceeds from the revenues pledged for the Government's 7½ per cent. reconstruction loan were about \$46,500,000, or approximately seven times the amount required for annual interest and sinking fund accounts of the loan. The country had a surplus of revenues over expenditures, and the Government estimated for the current year a surplus of \$5,571,000.

At the session of the Zionist Congress held at Vienna during the fourth week of August, the Hungarian Deputy, Dr. Kahan, bitterly denounced the Budapest Government for persecuting the Jews. He said that, aside from Soviet Russia, Hungary is the only country in which membership in the Zionist organization subjects one to punishment. He added that the blame attaches to leading Hungarian Jews, who "out of cowardice support the Hungarian Government in anti-Zionist measures."

## Rumania

THE question of the expropriation of the land of Hungarian farmers by the Rumanian Government—an issue which caused the League of Nations in June to warn the Bucharest authorities that they must immediately conform to the minorities treaty or go before the Hague Court—was satisfactorily settled at the session of the League Council at Geneva on Sept. 5, when that body voted to accept an offer of the Rumanian Government to pay 700,000 gold francs to the landowners in question.

## Yugoslavia

IN connection with negotiations between Yugoslavia and Greece looking to the use of the port of Saloniki by Yugoslav commerce, it was revealed by

Dr. Ninchitch, Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the treaty of alliance concluded between the two countries in 1913 was formally abrogated in 1915, when Greece made it plain that she would not enter the World War on the side of the Entente Powers. The world was left in ignorance of the fact throughout the war and indeed until quite recently, when, Yugoslavia having become the object of criticism on the mistaken ground that she had denounced the treaty last year in order to drive a hard bargain with Greece before renewing it, the Foreign Minister decided that the time had come to make the real situation known. The problem at the present time, as Dr. Ninchitch put it, is to arrive at a settlement such that the port of Saloniki "shall not become—I would not say a bone of contention between us, because Saloniki belongs to Greece and is definitely Greek territory—but a source of misunderstanding and distrust." It would meet the Yugoslav purposes if open and dependable communications with the port were assured. According to Dr. Ninchitch, Yugoslavia would welcome a revival of the former alliance.

The Skupshtina rose on Aug. 4 for the Summer recess, which will last until Oct. 20. One of its last acts was to pass a new restrictive press law, the whole of the Opposition having withdrawn from the House in protest against the policy embodied in the measure.

Nelson O'Shaughnessy, who gained prominence as Chargé d'Affaires for the United States in Mexico during the Wilson Administration, sailed on Aug. 15 to take up his duties in succession to William B. Poland as American representative on the Board of Monopolies at Belgrade. This body supervises the administration of the monopoly revenues and customs revenues which, together with the Government railway receipts, are pledged for the service of the 8 per cent. loan raised on the New York market some months ago. Under the terms of the loan, the American bankers are entitled to appoint one board member as a representative of the American bondholders.

# Russia

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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IN the old days when they wished to insult a Russian they called him an Asiatic. Today we are proud to be included among the countries on Asiatic soil." With these words an official representative of the Soviet Government welcomed the Japanese aviators who stopped in Moscow en route from Tokio to Paris. Others honored them as striking proof of the growing friendship between Russia and Japan. But a more practical demonstration of that development was given in the announcement that, on Oct. 20, a Russo-Japanese conference would open in Moscow to discuss their common railroad and shipping problems. It was also reported that Japan had asked permission to participate in another railroad conference, beginning on Nov. 2, between Latvia, Esthonia, and the Soviet Union. If an understanding is obtained at that time, travel will be possible between Tokio and Paris in fifteen days rather than forty by way of America. Japanese representatives have informed the Soviet Government that in accordance with the new treaty, two companies have been formed, with capital of \$5,000,000 and of \$5,500,000, respectively, to work the oil fields and coal mines on the Island of Sakhalin. Such events as these give force to Stalin's recent declaration to a Japanese newspaper man: "I, too, am an Asiatic."

An American observer in Moscow declared that Soviet diplomacy was turning deliberately to the Orient for very cogent reasons: because the European proletariat had failed to follow the example of Bolshevik revolution; because Soviet authorities believed that Great Britain sought to crush the Soviet Union by commercial boycott and even by armed force; because Eastern peoples, especially the Chinese and Indians, were stirring with national ambitions; and finally, because Russia's

geographical situation made natural a move toward the rich markets of the Far East.

The Moscow military tribunal, on Aug. 26, condemned to death nine contractors of supplies for the Red Army on the charge that they had defrauded the Government of several million dollars. Thirty-four others belonging to the State Clothing Syndicate were sentenced to imprisonment from six months to ten years. Twenty-three were acquitted.

From the Ukraine reports came on Aug. 23 that the Central Executive Committee had resolved to open special local courts: thirty Jewish, six Polish, four Bulgarian, four Greek. The entire proceedings in these courts are to be conducted in the languages of the respective nationalities. The purpose of this action was obviously twofold: to meet the needs of national minorities and to win favor for the dominant Soviet régime.

Aug. 29 marked a year's activity of the committee for settling the Jewish population on the land. During the past year, the Soviet Government has distributed some 25,000,000 acres among 30,000 Jews who have been settled in forty-five colonies. The presiding officer of the Ukraine Council of Commissars has promised to favor the erection of the Jewish area into an autonomous Jewish republic in the Soviet Union.

For months past indications have continued to appear that the Communist chiefs in Soviet Russia were seriously modifying their theories to overcome obstacles to their continuance in power. American onlookers might even have thought that they had long since abandoned Communism in its purest form as a denial of the existence of private property. But now there has come from the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party this resolve:

To improve conditions of life and work for

specialists, the Central Executive Committee considers necessary the following measures: (1) Admission of children of specialists to all branches of the educational system; (2) admission of specialist representatives as assistant judges in law cases concerning specialists and their work; (3) improvement of housing conditions for specialists; (4) tax exemptions for them. The committee thinks it extremely important to arrange a satisfactory general tariff for specialists instead of individual or collective agreements and to give them facilities of all kinds which will contribute to the accomplishment of their work.

It seems nothing less than a direct overture for the support of the "white collar" men in Russia, the hated "bourgeoisie," whose intelligence and training have been found essential for the progress of Soviet commerce and industry. It may well be, of course, an indication that the middle-class business men of Russia have at last accepted the Communist régime, finding for their own initiative and interest ample freedom as managers for the Soviet Government in the rivalry between the distinct groups in the larger State trusts. On the other hand it may indicate equally well the surrender of Communism to the pressure of social and economic forces, one more capitulation in a series that extends through the past four years. In this connection, the observations of the American correspondent, Walter Duranty, are most significant. Writing on Sept. 6 of the celebration to commemorate the two-hundredth anniversary of the Academy of Russian Science, he said:

For the first time since the revolution, there has been a public function in Russia at whose opening neither the Government nor the Communist Party took official part.

Tonight the Russian scientists and professors received their foreign colleagues from all over the world in the great assembly hall of the academy. There was a Red Army guard of honor at the entrance of the Soviet Foreign Office, representatives and foreign ambassadors were among the guests, the Hotel Europe, which compares favorably with any hotel on the Continent, was reserved for visitors, auto buses were brought especially from Moscow to transport them, but the only speech at tonight's function was an address of welcome by the aged President of the academy, M. Kar-pinski.

Clever propaganda, you may say—perhaps—yet, also and more particularly, a sign of the changing times. Soviet officials of Moscow have labored to emphasize the point that these festivities mark the burying of the hatchet between the Government and the chiefs of Russian science and education, as a parallel with the recent order of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, that the technical staffs of the State industrial and commercial enterprises shall be accorded no less favorable treatment than other workers.

A picturesque feature of the Academy meeting was the parade in Leningrad on Sept. 7 of 100,000 children, 5 to 13 years old; the youngsters appeared as the members of many Communist organizations.

The problem of the peasant still vexes the triumvirate in control of Soviet Russia. Kamenev, speaking as President of the Council of Labor and Defense, declared that, of the estimated billion poods of surplus grain (36.07 pounds to the pood), fully 60 per cent. was in the possession of "kulaks," richer peasants who comprise only 14 per cent. of the peasant population. More than a third of the peasantry, said Kamenev, were so poor that they did not have enough grain for their own needs and were compelled to buy. The "kulaks" accordingly were in position to compel the poorer peasants to work unpaid in order to secure food and seed grain for themselves, while they were often obliged, in addition, to repay the "kulaks" from their product with an amount equal frequently to more than 30 per cent. interest. Moreover, the Soviet authorities found great difficulty in learning the individual grievances of the poorer peasants. They dared not complain to Government inspectors, for the "kulaks" would leave them without food and seed grain as soon as the officials had departed. Village correspondents of the Soviet press soon learned that, if they reported what they knew, they also might expect violence at the hands of the "kulaks." The Government, nevertheless, was seeking ways of shielding the poor from the "kulaks."

By exporting some 200,000,000 bushels of grain, the Soviet Government

hopes to stabilize the price in Russia, and by facilitating the distribution of goods through cooperative societies and State merchandising organizations, to supply the peasant population as reasonably as possible. It is trying to thwart schemes for hoarding and speculation. In short, it would break the hold of the "kulaks," who constitute the class least sympathetic with the Soviet.

One of Lenin's favorite projects was the introduction into peasant villages of labor-saving machinery and electric lighting. It is reported that Soviet engineers, under the direction of Trotsky as head of the scientific and technical division of the Supreme Economic Council, are making rapid progress in the construction of small electric plants in the central districts of Russia. With electric light and power, beginnings of home industry have been made. The poorer peasant has the opportunity during the long Winter months to free himself from financial obligation to the "kulak."

Meanwhile, his "Imperial Majesty," Cyril Vladimirovitch, resides in a Ger-

man palace near Coburg, awaiting the summons of the Russian people that he return and reign in the Kremlin. He is sure that when the time comes the Cossacks and peasants "will speak their weighty word." They will beseech him, so he told a Danish correspondent, to reign as a patriarch, a despot absolute but benevolent. Then he will restore private property, rigorously enforce the law, maintain order, and grant security, personal rights and freedom of nationalities and religions. Would he summon a Russian Parliament? "The Czar is Parliament!" was his reply. But he added that each nationality would send its best men to him. They would group themselves about him and support his policies. He would build the State from underneath to above. "Perhaps Russia's future régime," he said, "will approach that of the United States—a row of independent, individual States united in a centralistic union." But it would be a monarchy, he was sure, and upon the capstone of the edifice would be enthroned Cyril Vladimirovitch, "Czar of All the Russias."



Ewing Galloway

A street in Kharabovsk, a Siberian town near the Mongolian border. The influence of the Chinese, many of whom live in this part of Siberia, is seen in the buildings



# Nations of Northern Europe

## Finland

A LOAN of \$10,000,000, which was raised in the United States in March, is to be utilized in the extension of scientific methods of farming through the medium of cooperative credit banks, in fostering the movement for small farm ownership under the Leasehold Redemption act of 1918 and in the development of hydroelectric power, especially the completion of the Imatra power project. Imatra, on the Vuoksi River, is the most advantageously placed and most widely known of the many rapids of Finland. It has a drop of sixty feet and a force of 141,312 horsepower, from which it is planned to supply hydroelectric power to a territory embracing 80 per cent. of the urban population and 70 per cent. of the industries of the country.

For the first time since the war with Russia in 1809 a Swedish monarch has visited Finland. King Gustaf, Queen Victoria and Prince William, accompanied by a naval squadron of six vessels, paid a visit to Helsingfors in the latter part of August to return the visit which President Relander had made to Stockholm in June.

## Esthonia

THE State Economic Council has fixed the program of railroad construction for the next ten years. During the coming year a shorter line will be constructed between Pernau and Reval.

The Esthonian war debt to Great Britain was refunded on July 24. It represented supplies and assistance from Great Britain during Esthonia's struggle against Soviet Russia for independence. Great Britain granted a considerable reduction and accepted the sum of £917,000 as covering its claims in full.

K. R. Pusta, Minister for Foreign Affairs, visited Great Britain, France, Belgium and Germany from July 22 to Aug. 14. He went primarily to gain information before the next Assembly of the League of Nations, but in London he secured a commercial treaty, and

at Berlin he signed a treaty of arbitration. Both President Hindenburg and Foreign Minister Stresemann expressed themselves as satisfied with the Esthonian policy toward national minorities.

## Latvia

ON Aug. 23 the Latvian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Z. Meierovics, was killed in an automobile accident. Shortly before his death he had visited on official missions several European countries and had brought back to Latvia three commercial treaties: one with Japan, signed in Berlin on July 4; one with Italy, signed in Rome on July 25, and a third with Belgium, signed in Brussels on July 7. Latvia already had commercial treaties, signed and ratified, with Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Esthonia, Hungary, Holland, Norway, Finland, France, Denmark, Switzerland and Sweden.

## Lithuania

INASMUCH as Poland has taken steps to require that general history and geography must be taught in Polish at the high schools in the district of Vilna, it was declared in governmental circles that the Lithuanian Government would adopt similar measures with respect to Polish schools in Lithuania.

A difference regarding the Chairmanship of the Memel Harbor Board has appeared between the Lithuanian Government and the Technical Commission on Communication and Transit of the League of Nations. The present Chairman is a Lithuanian, but the representative of the League on the Harbor Board has claimed a right to the post. The Lithuanian Government asserts that, according to the terms of the Memel Convention, the Harbor Board is empowered to elect its own Chairman by a majority vote and that the present Chairman was so chosen. Lithuanian authorities also argue that the Chairman of the board should be a Lithuanian, as Memel is in Lithuanian territory and the main purpose of the port of Memel is to serve Lithuania. A. B. D.

# Other Nations of Europe

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

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IT became manifest during September that the Morocco issue would continue to be an outstanding question in Spanish politics for some time to come; this was ascribed to two reasons: First, Morocco involves the question of Colonial discipline and administration, and, second, this problem has become a terminal mark for the rule of the present Military Directory. General Primo de Rivera announced repeatedly that the Spanish political atmosphere would have to be cleared up before he could relinquish his hold on the Government. There had been progress, however, toward relieving the rigors of the dictatorship. Nearly all the decrees abrogating the exercise of constitutional liberties had been removed. On the other hand, suppression of the privileges of Catalonia continued and was regarded as likely to be enforced with ruthless disregard of justice; it also was probable that the press censorship would be continued until the Directorate had announced the return to parliamentary government. But Morocco remained unsettled and observers watched the course of events there as much for the political as for the military results.

Despite the launching of the new Franco-Spanish offensive during September, the Riff troops were able to put up a good defense when the Spanish tightened their line between Tetuan and Tangier and also at points in Eastern Morocco; it was evidently the intent of General de Rivera to keep the enemy from concentrating on more vital positions, which might affect the success of the new allied advance.

## Holland

A CABINET based on the result of the recent election was formed more quickly than was expected from the close balance of parties represented. M.

Colyn, the Premier, was regarded by friends and foes alike as a man of great tact and talent, who possessed the force of character which the Dutch political atmosphere requires. As Minister of Finance he had alienated certain groups by his firm adherence to a policy of economy and financial reform, but he had been able to form a program which, in spite of his leadership in the Protestant party, satisfied the conflicting elements in the Roman Catholic group. To the correspondent of *The London Times*, M. Colyn made the following statement:

The policy of the Dutch Government during the past two years has been one of retrenchment. Now that the financial position has been improved and the equilibrium of the budget attained, the interrupted policy of social reforms can be resumed in a careful manner. As the reduction of State expenditure still remains a question of first importance, it has been decided to amalgamate the naval and army departments in order to further the interests of economy. The section of the War Department which relates to the Dutch Indies will eventually be brought under the control of the Colonial Department.

At Delft there was held on Aug. 28 a commemoration ceremony in honor of Hugo Grotius, who lies buried in the Nieuwe Kerk in that city. He died on Aug. 29, 1645. The present year is not a centennial of his birth or death, but the three hundredth anniversary of the publication of his greatest legal work, "*De Jure Belli et Pacis*" [of the Law of War and Peace], which laid the foundation of modern international law.

For the Dutch such a celebration is in part an act of repentance and reparation, for after promoting Grotius to high honor and office he was driven by religious rancor to flee his native land and became famous in exile in the public service of other nations. The striking thing, however, was the present world-wide interest in international law, which made the celebration of this great man not merely the remembrance

of a literary event, but a reflection of vital questions of the hour.

By the death on Aug. 25 of M. H. H. van Kol, in consequence of a motor accident while on a visit to Belgium, the Socialist Labor movement in Holland lost one of its few remaining pioneers and Dutch politics in general a noted expert on Colonial affairs and policy.

Following up the Chinese disturbances reported in July the Government of the Dutch East Indies has firmly put a stop to the very active campaign carried on there by Chinese agitators since the trouble began at Shanghai for assisting their countrymen in China to fight British and Japanese interests. Money was being collected by threats and blackmail and a boycott of English and Japanese goods was being actively carried on. It appeared that the agitators were not Chinese born in the Indies, but residents guilty of an abuse of hospitality.

Late computation of returns in the midsummer elections altered the Social Democrat representation in the Second Chamber; it was learned that the number of Social Democrats elected was twenty-four and not thirty-four as originally reported.

## Denmark

THE liquor issue occupied the attention of lawmakers in Scandinavia. The committee investigating the question of prohibition in Denmark was reported to be contemplating a proposal for prohibition in 1927 by a national plebiscite. On the other hand a Scandinavian anti-Prohibition Congress was called to meet in Helsingfors; the session was scheduled to be held early in the Autumn; invitations were sent out for the attendance of delegates from anti-prohibition associations of four countries. Denmark's representatives included leaders of the Protective Association for Personal Liberty, among whom is Judge Axel Rasmussen, who recently investigated conditions in the United States. The Finnish papers say the investigations have resulted in

condemnation of prohibition, especially as regards the effect on public morals.

American respect for the accomplishments of Denmark in science was manifested when John D. Prince, American Minister to Denmark, acting in behalf of Columbia University, where he was once a professor, presented to Professor Neils Bohr of Copenhagen the Barnard Gold Medal for Meritorious Service to Science. The medal was awarded in recognition of Professor Bohr's researches in the structure of atoms.

Another act of the World War drama came to a close on Aug. 25 at Veilby Beach, on the west Jutland coast, where the wreck of the German submarine U-20, credited with the destruction of the Lusitania, was blown up by order of the Danish Admiralty. Explosives amounting to nearly a ton were used in destroying the submarine, whose conning tower had been sticking out of the water for the past nine years. The U-20 grounded off the Jutland coast on Nov. 4, 1916, in a fog. The boat was abandoned by her crew after attempts to destroy her with explosives failed.

## Norway

ELECTRIC power is so abundant in Norway that plans are under way to extend transmission lines into Germany, Denmark and Sweden. One proposed transmission route is through Sweden, across comparatively narrow straits, to Copenhagen, about 550 miles. The other is to Hamburg, using a sea cable and crossing Denmark.

Norway has about 12,500,000 horsepower of potential hydroelectric power in the deep fjords along the west coast, of which about 1,500,000 horse-power is now developed. The fjords cut deep into the mountains, and it usually is possible to build a power house and tailrace at tide level, so that ocean steamships can run up to the power house and near-by factories. The domestic popularity of electricity is remarkable. In the city of Bergen the electric company, in celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary recently, reported that

more than half of the kitchens of the city were electrified.

Besides abundant power, there is a rapid development in Norway of such industries as the manufacture of aluminum and the production of atmospheric nitrogen.

Stagnation in the shipping business has become a problem in Norway as well as elsewhere. A report made in August to the Norwegian Shipowners' Association showed that idle Norwegian tonnage on July 1 embraced forty steam, motor and sailing vessels, amounting to 67,000 gross tons, of which twenty-seven of the list were steam and motor craft. This appeared large for a small country, but in fact it means that only 2 per cent. of the total merchant fleet was idle.

In the list of honors for the Amundsen polar expedition King Haakon has included Judge Gudbrand J. Lomen, Federal Judge of the Second District of Alaska. In recognition of assistance rendered, Judge Lomen has been created a Knight, First Class, of the Royal Order of St. Olaf.

## Sweden

SWEDEN during August was the scene of an event of the highest importance in the history of the Christian Church. In the City of Stockholm there met for ten days the Universal Christian Conference, for the purpose of discussing present day life and work. All denominations, except the Roman Catholic Church, were represented by about 600 delegates from thirty-five different countries. All these nations sent prominent religious leaders, but the outstanding figure was Sweden's Archbishop, Nathan Soederblom, by whose initiative and tireless energy the conference was arranged. Other interesting personages were the British Lord Bishop of Winchester and the Venerable Patriarch of Alexandria, the oldest delegate present.

The program of the conference was unique in the history of Church councils, for it excluded questions of creed and order and dealt with the duty of

the Church toward practical problems of everyday life. Topics included were: (1) The Church's obligation in view of God's purpose for the world; (2) the Church and economic and industrial problems; (3) the Church and social and moral problems; (4) the Church and international relations; (5) the Church and Christian education; (6) methods of cooperative and federative efforts by the Christian communions.

Reports from correspondents who were present indicated the inspiring effect of this great gathering. As was inevitable in such an assembly, there was little unity of opinion on social and moral questions. If it was intended to formulate a social creed for modern churches, as the Council of Nicæa, 1,600 years ago, formulated a doctrinal creed, that end was not attained, for the divisions of sentiment upon prohibition, divorce and other problems were acute. The reports of special commissions upon social issues were without impressive significance, hence there was no great treaty placed on record.

The meeting itself, however, was of vast significance; the effect of this immense gathering, the whole Christian world—Bishops, Patriarchs, pastors and laymen—engaged in common worship and common counsel could not be gainsaid. A great step toward Christian union, not in creed, but in action, had been taken. A permanent committee for the continuation of the work was made up of delegates from the various countries. The heads of the American delegation, which numbered some of the most noted clergymen on the Continent, were Dr. Adams Brown of New York and Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, also of New York.

The King, the Queen and Prince Vilhelm during the latter part of August paid an official visit to Finland, accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Oesten Undén. The Swedish royalties spent almost a week in Finland and, according to reports to the American Swedish News Exchange, the cordiality and enthusiasm which marked



their reception was most impressive. The King, in his first speech after landing in Helsingfors, said that his presence should be looked upon both as a return visit to that paid to Sweden by Finland's President some months ago, and as an expression of the warm feelings of sympathy on the part of the Swedish people toward the Finns, strengthened by centuries of intimate political and historic relations. The King on his return from Finland declared that the reception given him during his visit surpassed anything in his experience. This exchange of courtesies by the two heads of the "brother countries" was looked upon on both sides of the Baltic as being of considerable political importance and a final proof that old differences had been forgotten.

The names of the twenty-five official Swedish delegates to the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union in Washing-

ton during October were announced; among them are Mayor Carl Lindhagen of Stockholm, Arthur Engberg, editor of the Government organ *Social-Demokraten*; Dr. Otto Järte of the Government Social Department, and Count Raoul Hamilton. While here the delegates planned to make a tour of the principal Swedish settlements in the United States and Canada.

As in the case of all other countries so far heard from Sweden has declined the American request for diplomatic immunity for its Treasury agents assigned to investigate industrial costs of production abroad.

At the request of the Swedish-American Line the Swedish Foreign Office has opened negotiations with the United States Government for the examinations of Swedish emigrants before leaving the home country.

# Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER and A. T. OLMSTEAD

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**E**LEVEN members of the reactionary Reform League, tried before the Tribunal of Independence for high treason, were executed at Angora on Aug. 16, and others were given varying terms of imprisonment. Twelve Communists were likewise condemned to imprisonment.

Two commissars were ordered to study the Kurdish situation. Dersim and Zaza Kurds were being deported to Cilicia and to the Sinope-Samsun region. It was rumored that all the revolting Kurds were to be deported.

A railway congress was opened at Angora by Suleiman Sirry Bey, Minister of Public Works, to consider extension of service and lowering of rates. All business men have been made by law members of the Turkish Chamber of Commerce. The total membership is

30,000. Collection of commercial statistics has begun. Turkish time has been abandoned in favor of regular time.

## Egypt

**T**HE seven men condemned to death for the murder of Sir Lee Stack, Sirdar of the Egyptian Army and Governor General of the Sudan, were hanged in Cairo on Aug. 23.

The new electoral law, prepared by the Electoral Law Revision Commission, headed by the Minister of the Interior, Ismail Sidky Pasha, was distinctly conservative. The voting age was raised from 21 to 25 years, full manhood suffrage was granted only to men over 40; of men under 40 the franchise was restricted to those who hold property taxed two Egyptian pounds annually,

pay an annual rent of £E24, or hold a diploma permitting practice of one of the liberal professions. The new electorate will be about two-thirds of the old.

All but three daily papers suspended publication for a day in protest against the press amendments to the Criminal Code. The Minister of Justice denied any desire to fetter the press, and declared his only purpose was to make the law clear. Thus far, seven journalists have been arrested and held for trial.

After the University of Al Azhar had vainly demanded of the Government the confiscation of the modernist book of Sheikh Ali Abd-el-Razek, Judge of the Religious Court at Cairo, the Religious Council of Cairo deprived the Sheikh of his professorship of religious jurisprudence at the university. The press and public opinion seemed generally on his side.

Fifteen million dollars a year are being spent by the Egyptian State Railways for new rolling stock and various improvements, according to Janig H. Chaker, general manager of the Compagnie Générale des Wagons-Lits. Seventy per cent. of the tourists in Egypt are Americans. The annual report of the Egyptian Delta Light Railways notes especially the severe competition from automobiles, generally of the "jitney" class.

## Syria

THE Druse revolt, the sixth revolt within six years in Syria, continued dangerous. The Druse Mountain was made an independent State in 1921, but with a French Governor. Its last Governor, Captain Carbillet, was unpopular, and the leading Druses petitioned the Governor General of Syria, General Sarraïl, for his recall and for the incorporation of their territory in the Syrian union. The Governor General refused to receive the delegation and arrested certain of the Druse chiefs. On the return of Captain Carbillet, the French forces under General Michaud were attacked at Mezraa on Aug. 3 and

were cut up. According to recent reports, 20,000 Druses were in the field under the command of Sultan Pasha Atrash, and they are aided by the Arab tribesmen north and east of the Druse Mountain and by Anezeh and Ruwalla Arabs from the north Syrian desert.

A garrison of 200 held the citadel of Suedia in the heart of the Druse Mountain. Attempts to send aid by airplane failed, and it was reported that Suedia was taken by the Druses on Aug. 29. Its capture, however, was denied by a dispatch from Beirut of Aug. 31. Later, it was announced, twenty airplanes had destroyed the town.

Sultan Pasha Atrash refused the latest French offer, autonomy with a Druse Governor, an elected Druse Council, a small indemnity, compensation for loss of Christian property and surrender of captured French arms. He demanded complete independence for all Syria, with a native Parliament, army and King or President. The French were to have only an advisory character, as in Iraq. He further declared that there were only 6,000 French soldiers in Syria (Aug. 20).

Damascus was unquiet. Secret summons to revolt were distributed. All arrivals from the Hauran were arrested to suppress their news. Airplanes bombed and destroyed 80 of the 120 villages in rebellion. The bridge at El Kiswah, twenty miles from Damascus, was destroyed by the rebels (Aug. 11). On Aug. 18 ten armored cars were sent to Damascus, and 4,000 native troops were dispatched to take the place of the 3,000 destroyed by the Druses. On Aug. 20 General Soule and his aide-de-camp were attacked and injured by Druses while inspecting military posts along the Hauran railroad. On Aug. 24 1,500 Druses and Arabs marching on Damascus were repulsed, but by Aug. 27 the Druses were within two miles of the city on the south and held a post on the north. Leading citizens were arrested, the city streets were patrolled, and barbed wire and machine guns surrounded the public buildings (Aug. 29).

The bad harvest and Moslem propa-

ganda were causing trouble elsewhere. A Paris report of Aug. 17 denied rumors that the Senegalese troops had mutinied. Der ez Zor, a city of 20,000 inhabitants on the middle Euphrates, was captured by the Druses on Aug. 26, and the next day serious uprisings were reported from the chief cities of North Syria—Homs, Hama, Aleppo and Alexandretta. The 150,000 Armenians in North Syria were fleeing south in fear of Turkish raids, and the wealthier citizens throughout the whole country were taking refuge in Beirut. Seven thousand French troops were reported on the way to Syria, and were to be supported by warships.

## Arabia

**I**BN SAUD, King of Nejd, having captured Mecca and failed before Jiddah, attacked Medina (Aug. 20). The tomb of Mohammed was said to have been badly damaged, and the mosque of his uncle Hamza destroyed. Strong resentment at this treatment was felt by the Persians, who made Sept. 6 a day of mourning. The next day Ibn Saud denied the reports, asserting that his army possessed no guns and that he had shown all respect to the holy places.

The Pilgrimage incident seems to have been closed satisfactorily. The majority of the Indian pilgrims were disembarked at Rabegh, under the protection of a British warship, and some 250 pilgrims at Jiddah were allowed by King Ali to proceed to Mecca.

## Iraq

**T**HE report of the Mosul Boundary Commission came before the Council of the League of Nations on Sept. 3. The commission refrained from making a definite recommendation. The legal title remained with Turkey until she renounced her rights. Iraq, it was stated, had no legal rights, even by conquest. It was intimated that the Mosul country should not be divided. Economic and geographic conditions, as well as the wishes of a majority of its inhabitants, favored union of the coun-

try south of the Brussels line to Iraq. If this were done the country should be placed under the mandate of the League of Nations for twenty-five years. Should the British refuse, the line of the Lesser Zab was suggested as boundary. This would give Iraq control of Suleimaniyeh, a constant centre of revolt, and Kirkuk, a centre of Turkish sympathies, while Turkey would receive the Arab cities of Mosul and Erbil (Arbela).

At the League of Nations meeting the Turks alleged that British warships and airplanes had demonstrated against Turkish territory. The British were willing to accept the twenty-five-year mandate provided the union of Mosul to Iraq should not change their relations to the latter country. Should the boundary not be placed at the Brussels line, the British might be forced to evacuate Iraq.

The Turks refused to renew their promise to abide by the report of the commission. The Parliament of Iraq, at a secret meeting on Aug. 31, decided to follow British advice in the matter. They unanimously expressed a determination to defend their country against the Turks, even if war resulted. Iraq was now well prepared for any eventuality. In addition to the regular army of 8,000, there were 5,000 local auxiliaries, mostly Assyrian Christians who had been driven from their homes by the Turks. These troops were supported by a battalion each of British and Indian troops, 2,500 in all, and by eight air squadrons, each of from twelve to fourteen planes.

King Faisal arrived in London Aug. 17, ostensibly for medical treatment. His youngest brother, Emir Zaid, acted as regent in his absence.

## Palestine

**T**HE fourteenth session of the World Zionist Congress was marked by serious anti-Semitic riots (Aug. 17). The Russian delegates sent a telegram which regretted their inability to cooperate under Bolshevist conditions, and declared that the Zionist movement was being destroyed and its supporters im-

prisoned or exiled to Siberia. Much anti-British sentiment was manifested at the congress. One delegate asserted that the Balfour Declaration had been treated as a scrap of paper, and another demanded that Britain cease interfering in internal Jewish questions (Aug. 21). In a meeting of the more extreme members, demands were made for the inclusion of Transjordan in Palestine, for a colonization rapid enough to secure a Jewish majority and for the expropriation of all land in Palestine with fixed compensation for Arab landholders. Dr. Jabotinsky, leader of the radicals, demanded an energetic aggressive policy against the Arabs. A delegate from London, Mr. Grossmann, demanded a Jewish army as the only guarantee of safety in Palestine. This suggestion was hooted by the anti-militarists (Aug. 26). As a result of these and similar criticisms of the Zionists, who attempted to cooperate with the British, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Executive Committee, resigned and followed this up by informing the radicals that they might run Palestine as they wished (Aug. 27). But a vote of confidence, 217 to 15, with 80 not voting, was given him, and he agreed to remain President and to continue the direction of Palestine development (Aug. 29). The congress was closed Aug. 31 with authorization to Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Zokolow to form their own Executive Committee. An annual budget of \$5,000,000 was adopted and measures were taken to facilitate middle-class immigration.

Samuel Untermyer, President of the American branch of the Palestine Foundation Fund, reported that in the past four years more than \$8,500,000 had been expended. Sixty per cent. of this came from the United States. Forty-three agricultural colonies had been established, 120 Hebrew schools started and incoming immigrants assisted.

Felix M. Warburg, Chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee, announced that nearly \$7,000,000 had been spent in Palestine during the last ten

years for schools, hospitals and reconstruction work.

Field Marshal Baron Plumer, the new British High Commissioner for Palestine, arrived in Jerusalem on Aug. 25.

## Persia

**TURKOMANS**, who had been raiding the Meshed-Teheran road, were defeated on Aug. 16.

Jews were reported to be leaving Persia in considerable numbers. Fearing the loss of their wealth, the Government was curtailing the issuance of passports. The Jews demanded as an alternative full citizen rights, but were opposed by the priests.

A Compulsory Military Service bill was passed making every male citizen liable for service for twenty-five years, two of them with the colors.

In place of the native mint, formerly administered by an American, Persia now secures silver coins from the Moscow mint. The only charge is for the alloy. Italian business men and representatives of Soviet Russia had joined to undersell the International Harvester Company and had secured transit rights which greatly reduced transport costs (Aug. 16). A Government decree of Aug. 26 prohibited public smoking of opium.

A. C. Millspaugh, Administrator General of the Finances of Persia, issued a report on the financial and economic situation of Persia. Since November, 1922, the Administrator General has been in complete charge of the finances. He prepares the budget, approves all obligations contracted and concessions, all payments, and all the personnel. Better administration had been introduced, waste eliminated and receipts increased. The estimated revenue for 1924-1925 was 234,384,250 krans, or about \$26,000,000. The customs, pledged for the service of the funded debt, totaled 91,000,000 krans, over \$10,000,000, nearly double the customs in 1913-1914.



# The Far East

By QUINCY WRIGHT

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## China

THE Provisional Government of Marshal Tuan Chi-jui is maintaining itself without apparent difficulty. It has handled the protests and demands of the students during the Summer months with considerable finesse, while continuing to enjoy unbroken diplomatic relations. Without doubt, this is due primarily to the stanch support rendered by Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the real force in the Government, but it should not be overlooked that the Tuan Cabinet had the cooperation of able statesmen such as W. W. Yen and C. T. Wang, who have not affiliated themselves too closely with any civil or military clique. These men have not taken Cabinet office, but are acting as diplomatic and financial advisers in a most effective way. A "Foreign Relations Committee," including Sun Pao-chi, W. W. Yen, Wellington Koo, Tsao Ju-lin, Lin Chang-min, Wang Ta-hsieh, Liang Shih-yi, C. T. Wang, Liang Chichao and others, has been constituted and is functioning.

Another newly organized commission is that on "Financial Reorganization," which is designed to effect schemes for balancing the budget and for providing new sources of revenue for the provinces in preparation for the coming customs conference and the hoped-for abolition of likin, the irregular and vexatious provincial octroi.

On July 30 was held the first session of the Assembly, which has been convened after the dissolution of the "Rehabilitation Conference," and constituted in the main of the same members, for the purpose of advising the Provisional Government and preparing a Constitution. The new assembly is distinctly provisional in nature.

Nine provinces of Central China—

Hupei, Szechuan, Hunan, Honan, Kweichow, Kiangsi, Anhui, Shensi and Kansu—were reported to have signed an alliance for the maintenance of amity among themselves. It was suggested that this combination, though outwardly friendly to the Peking Government, might betoken the reappearance of Wu Pei-fu as an important political factor, since the leader of the group of Governors thus associated is Hsiao Yao-nan of Hupei, a close friend of Wu.

The labor difficulties in Shanghai gradually lost importance as the strikers in a number of foreign firms returned to work. Shipping moved more freely and the street car and bus lines provided nearly normal service. The postal strike, which was purely Chinese, was settled by the grant of a general wage increase. The Japanese mills, which normally employ 50,000 workers at a million spindles, reopened after two months of idleness. A compromise between the views of the owners and the strikers was worked out by S. Yada, Japanese Consul General, and Hsu Yuan, Chinese Commissioner of Foreign Affairs for Kiangsu. The reported terms of settlement included no mention of increased wages, but were in general favorable to the workmen. The agreement stated that the Japanese mill Nagaiwata Kaisha was to pay \$10,000 silver to the families of the workmen killed and to the strikers who had been injured during the disturbances. The boycott, which continued against British goods, was lifted from those of Japan. The municipal council of Shanghai declared the state of emergency ended. There was, however, one disturbance subsequent to the settlement. On Sept. 8 British police fired on a Chinese group who had invaded the international zone, and three Chinese were wounded.

The Anglo-Chinese impasse in Can;

ton was intensified with the proclamation of an embargo upon British goods, entailing a daily loss of \$1,000,000 gold to the port of Hongkong. The loss sustained by American shippers was indirect but real, since American ships were forbidden to enter the Pearl River if they had touched at Hongkong. American trade, however, gained in general by the boycotts, since it was exempted specifically from their operation. Although the Cantonese radicals realized that the losses of Canton would be enormous, they declared their willingness to endure them for the sake of a blow at Great Britain. The Hongkong merchants called upon the British Government for the application of the "gun-boat policy" to compel the Canton Government to observe the treaties, but the Baldwin Cabinet declined to resort to force.

The Canton embargo also continued as against Japanese imports. The Canton Government, however, apologized for the shooting of three Japanese marines, who were killed by gunfire from a Chinese fort while proceeding to the rescue of a Japanese liner, the Shinyo Maru, which had grounded.

At Hankow Anglo-Chinese negotiations regarding the cooperation of Chinese and foreign police in the British concession were broken off when the Chinese officials presented a demand for an indemnity of \$75,000 for those killed and wounded in the riot of June 11.

Of major interest have been the developments toward an international conference at Peking, primarily for the determination of issues relating to the customs tariffs. With the settlement of the gold franc case and the acquiescence of France in the ratification of the two nine-power treaties of the Washington Conference, formal ratifications were exchanged. In conformity with Article 2 of the treaty relating to the Chinese customs tariff the Peking Provisional Government on Aug. 18 issued invitations to Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Portugal and the United States, signatories to the

treaty, and to Denmark, Norway, Peru and Spain, adherents, for a customs conference in Peking beginning on Oct. 26, 1925. The Washington provisions did not go beyond permission to China to increase her tariffs by 2½ per cent. except on luxuries, upon which the increase might amount to 5 per cent. These changes would raise the ordinary import and export tariffs to an attractive 7½ per cent. and the tariff on luxuries to 10 per cent. An additional general increase of 5 per cent. was contemplated, but only on condition that likin should be abolished. The Chinese Government has made it clear that it intends to raise the issue of customs autonomy and to urge the termination of the foreign administration established more than two generations ago.

Acting in cooperation the eight signatory powers accepted the Chinese invitation and signified their willingness to consider the question of tariff autonomy. Reports indicated that American influence was exerted strongly toward bringing the other principal powers to accept agenda not envisaged in the nine-power agreement. The Tokio Foreign Office announced that the powers had agreed that the time had not yet come for the grant of tariff autonomy, but that this decision did not preclude the discussion of Chinese proposals in that matter. Secretary of State Kellogg referred to the subject in an address before the American Bar Association. He said that the tariff conference agenda would have to be broadened and that the United States was ready to discuss a comprehensive revision of the tariff treaties. John V. A. MacMurray, the American Minister to China, and Silas H. Strawn of Chicago were named as the American delegates to the conference.

It would appear that American influence had been used effectively in behalf of the execution of the fifth resolution of the Washington Conference, relating to extraterritoriality. The eight signatories have notified the Chinese Government in the same identic notes as those which conveyed their accept-

ance of the invitation to the customs conference that they stand ready to appoint commissioners at an early date to consider what steps may be taken with a view to relinquishment of the extra-territorial privileges which their nationals in China now enjoy. Mr. Strawn has been appointed also as American Special Commissioner for the investigation of the status of extraterritoriality and other treaty privileges.

Regarding the death of Morgan Palmer, the American ranch owner on the Sungari and one of the best informed and respected of foreigners, it was learned that the bandits had not attacked his home but that he had been killed while assisting to defend a neighboring Chinese village against the bandits. Dr. H. J. Howard was being well treated by the bandits, but his release was conditioned upon the reception of a large group of them into the army. This method of procedure has been used a number of times, usually with success, though the fate of the admitted bandit leaders is sometimes tragic. In Szechuan the kidnapping of the Episcopal Bishop, Rev. H. W. K. Mowll, and seven other missionaries was reported.

Roy Chapman Andrews, leader of three scientific expeditions into Mongolia for the purpose of discovering geological and anthropological data, was reported as expressing the belief that the expeditions' discoveries of implements, weapons and ornaments were likely to prove to be the earliest evidences of man. The third expedition was ordered to leave Mongolia on charges, denied by Mr. Andrews, that the expedition had not confined itself to the type of investigation originally authorized and that it had sought to influence Mongolian politics.

Mr. McNeill, British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated in the House of Commons that the question of the return of Wei-hai-Wei to China had been suspended temporarily because of the provisional character of the Chinese Government.

President Coolidge has directed the

Secretary of the Treasury to remit to the Board of Trustees of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture all payments of the annual instalments of the Chinese indemnity made subsequent to Oct. 1, 1917, and all later payments. The immediate repayment involved was \$1,377,255.02 gold.

## Japan

THE reappointment of Viscount Kato as Premier was accepted by the Japanese press generally with favor. His policy of financial retrenchment, though hardly to be considered in operation, in view of the continuance of Government borrowing and naval and military expenditure, was considered sound, and the opposition of the Seiyukai and Seiyuhonto Parties, looking toward larger expenditures, as unwise at present. The ostensible cause of the rupture between the parties, which have worked in coalition since January, 1924, was the refusal of the Kenseikai leaders to agree to transfer the land tax revenues to the prefectures. This could not be regarded as the real point of difference, since during four years of power the Seiyukai failed to bring the transfer issue to the test of a Parliamentary crisis. It is clear that the Seiyukai desired a larger share of the Cabinet offices, which the Kenseikai preferred to retain for its own members. It was considered probable that the Seiyukai and the Seiyuhonto, a comparatively recent offshoot of the former, would reunite, but the divergent ambitions of Mr. Tanaka and Mr. Tokonami, their respective leaders, who both desire to be Premier, would require reconciliation.

The retrenchment program has not as yet affected the military budgets. Although the number of army divisions was recently decreased, the War Department estimated that it would require 215,000,000 yen in 1926, an increase of 15,000,000 yen over this year's budget. The Navy Department has announced a program of naval construction involving the expenditure of 158,000,000 yen for

auxiliary vessels during the period 1926-1931.

In foreign relations much the most significant question has been the increasing tension between Japan and Russia over the exploitation of Northern Manchuria. Though the exact arrangement by which the South Manchurian Railway is to build the new line from Taonan to Tsitsihar on the Chinese Eastern Railway has not been divulged, it is apparent that in any case the line will be Japanese controlled for a considerable period. It is now believed that Russia is negotiating with China for the concession to build a railway north from Tsitsihar to Kaiho; if this be true the object is evident: to provide a feeder for the Chinese Eastern and to head off further Japanese advances. In addition the Soviet Government has protested at Peking and Tokio against the new Sino-Japanese line as being an unfair competitor with the Chinese Eastern. These economic rivalries give rise to the question as to the likelihood of continued success for the Russo-Japanese "alliance" signed early this year, particularly in view of the efforts being made by a strong group of Japanese statesmen to destroy it. Having a possible bearing upon the question was the visit of a Japanese military mission to Rumania. It was thought that this might

indicate Japan's intention to ratify the post-war treaty by which Bessarabia was recognized as belonging to Rumania.

A Japanese cruiser conveyed the body of the late Ambassador Edgar A. Bancroft to San Francisco, the culmination of a series of special courtesies accorded in consequence of the death of the Ambassador. The Emperor of Japan on Aug. 27 sent the following cablegram to President Coolidge:

I beg to tender to you my sincere thanks for your very courteous message. Having learned that the remains of the late Ambassador Bancroft have now arrived at his motherland, I desire to pay my renewed tribute of condolence to his memory and to assure you that his endeavors in promoting the friendship between our two nations will never be effaced from my remembrance. YOSHINATO.

A number of emigration and related projects were reported. One for which foreign students of Japan's population problem have waited is that of attempting to transfer some 3,000,000 people into the northern island of Hokkaido, which is considered to be capable of furnishing homes for that number. Another scheme contemplates a considerable colonization of Mongolia. A third plan would involve the sending of at least 5,000 emigrants to Brazil during the current year; 4,000 Japanese entered Brazil in 1924.

## International Events

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**A**N agreement regarding the payment of the Belgian war debt to the United States was reached on Aug. 18. The total debt, amounting with arrears of interest to \$727,830,500, was divided into two parts, with somewhat different arrangements for the payment of each.

The post-armistice debt, amounting to \$556,050,500, is to be paid in annual

instalments over sixty-two years with interest at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Relatively small payments, however, are required for the first ten years in consideration of the economic situation of Belgium. Beginning in the eleventh year, when the full rate of interest becomes operative, the annual payments are fixed at a little less than \$10,000,000. The pre-armistice debt, constituting the balance



of the total amount, is also to be paid in sixty-two annual instalments, but in view of an arrangement which was accepted by President Wilson at the Peace Conference by which Germany was to be substituted for Belgium as the debtor for the pre-armistice debt, the interest on that portion of the debt was remitted. The War Debt Commission explained that it found itself unable to agree to the Belgian contention that the pre-armistice debt should be recovered from the reparations to be paid by Germany under the Dawes plan, and it declined to recognize the Wilson agreement as legally binding. Because of the fact, however, that the Wilson agreement had been accepted by Belgium in good faith and had been made a condition of its ratification of the Treaty of Versailles, the commission decided that "there does continue a weighty moral obligation as a result of assurances given which entirely differentiates this sum from all other debts due the United States from foreign countries," and on that account the payment of interest was waived.

The agreement, which was approved by President Coolidge on Aug. 20, requires the assent of Congress, since it involves a departure from the terms of the law under which the war debt settlements are to be made. Speculation regarding the possible effect of the Belgian concession upon later debt settlements, especially that with France, was met by a semi-official statement, issued at Swampscott on Aug. 25, declaring that the Belgian terms were "not based on the Versailles Treaty or any other treaty, but were measured by the ability of Belgium to pay," and that they had no relation to the obligations of other countries owing money to the United States.

Negotiations for the settlement of the French war debt to Great Britain, which were broken off in July because of the unsatisfactory terms offered by France, were formally resumed at London by Winston Churchill and Joseph Caillaux on Aug. 24. By a provisional agree-

ment reached two days later, Great Britain undertook to accept, in payment of the French debt, £633,000,000, payable in annual instalments of £12,500,000 over sixty-two years, with the understanding that the payments were to be a charge on the French Treasury independently of reparation receipts from Germany under the Dawes plan. Incorporated in the agreement, however, was a stipulation that Great Britain "must receive from France proportionate and *pari passu* payments to any she may eventually make to the United States in settlement of her war debt." In other words, if the terms accorded to France by the United States are less favorable to France than those provisionally agreed upon in London, Great Britain will insist upon the same terms that the United States exacts. The stipulation aroused widespread comment, on the whole unfavorable, in the American press, and neither in Great Britain nor in France was the agreement greeted with much enthusiasm. It was later unofficially denied that Great Britain, in making the stipulation, intended to exert any pressure upon the United States. Considerable difference of opinion regarding the settlement was reported to exist in the French Ministry. The members of the French debt commission to the United States, comprising, in addition to M. Caillaux, four Senators, four Deputies and two others, were announced on Sept. 3.

Count Volpi, Italian Finance Minister, was appointed head of an Italian debt commission which was to be sent to Washington, and notice has been given of the coming of commissions from Rumania and Czechoslovakia. The Rumanian war debt to France was the subject of discussion between M. Brătianu, Rumanian Finance Minister, and M. Caillaux in Paris on Aug. 28. The Mexican Consul General in New York announced on Aug. 27 that Mexico would begin about Sept. 1 the payment of its debt of about \$500,000,000, the larger part of which is owed to American creditors.

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The thirty-fifth session of the Council of the League of Nations began at Geneva on Sept. 2. The most important item of the agenda was the report of the commission on the Mosul boundary. A declaration that Great Britain was prepared to continue responsibility "toward the League and the world" for stable government and order in Iraq called forth strenuous objection from Tewfik Pasha, the Turkish Foreign Minister, who asserted that the Angora Government had never agreed to accept in advance the decision of the Council regarding the Mosul boundary. To his demand for a plebiscite, however, the British spokesman opposed an emphatic negative.

Reports were also received regarding economic and financial conditions in Austria and Hungary, the settlement of Greek refugees and the status of minorities in Rumania and Lithuania. A temporary commission on slavery reported that slavery was practically confined to Mohammedan countries, but that a system of peonage "which is equal to slavery" existed in Latin-America.

A report of the commission on the delimitation of the port area of Danzig within which Poland was to enjoy certain postal privileges practically sustained the Polish contention by including within the port limits all territory within one-half mile of the waterfront and a large area occupied by trading houses.

Liberia accepted the Arms Control Convention as "a sovereign and independent State."

Nearly 1,000 treaties were stated to have been registered with the League, 251 during the year ended last May.

### ASSEMBLY AT GENEVA

The sixth Assembly of the League met on Sept. 7. Senator Raoul Dandurand of Canada was elected President. Paul Painlevé, the French Premier, who delivered the opening address, insisted that the problem of disarmament could not be solved until that of security had been disposed of,

and recommended that the Council prepare invitations to a disarmament conference "as soon as it is considered that satisfactory conditions from the point of view of security are well established." A European economic conference was also hinted at. The apparent purpose to forestall the calling of another disarmament conference at Washington occasioned much discussion, but an unofficial statement from Swampscott the following day announced that President Coolidge, while not wishing to obstruct any action of the League, had not abandoned his idea of another conference, and was merely "awaiting the arrival of the appropriate moment to send out invitations to the nations to participate." No final action on any of these matters except Austria had been taken by the League when this review was printed. On Sept. 10 the League voted to end its tutelage of Austria, retaining control only of such resources as guarantee the loan issued under League auspices.

### SECURITY PACT DISCUSSIONS

Interest in the League proceedings, however, was to a large degree overshadowed by the negotiations, formal or informal, looking to a security compact. Following the conference in London on Aug. 10-12, between Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Secretary, and Aristide Briand, French Foreign Minister, a French note embodying the views of the British and French Governments in reply to the German note of July 20 was presented to Foreign Minister Stresemann. The note, made public on Aug. 26, reiterated the contention of the previous allied note of June 16 that the security pact must not infringe upon the peace treaties, insisted that the danger of a one-sided application of sanctions under the proposed arbitration treaties did not in fact exist, and again urged the immediate entrance of Germany into the League of Nations. The note was conspicuously friendly in tone, and concluded with an invitation to Germany to enter into negotiations with the Allies on the basis which the notes afforded.

In handing the note to Herr Stresemann, M. Margerie, the French Ambassador at Berlin, suggested an immediate preliminary conference of jurists to examine such legal questions as a security pact might be found to involve. The German Government, in an official communiqué, promptly accepted the French note as a basis for a conference, as also the suggestion of a juridical conference, but with the proviso that Germany should not be subjected to any discrimination if it became a member of the League, that no recognition of "war guilt" should be demanded, that Germany "must be admitted to a share in the colonial mandates in the same measure as other nations that have possessed themselves of this right," and that the Cologne zone should be evacuated forthwith independently of "the few remaining issues" over the question of disarmament.

The juridical conference of British, French, Belgian and German experts, together with an Italian representative unexpectedly appointed at the last moment, met at London on Sept. 1. Preliminary drafts of a security pact had already been drawn up by the French and British representatives, and to these were added certain German proposals. On Sept. 4, after eight sessions, the proceedings of which were shrouded in secrecy, the conference adjourned in order that its members might report to their respective Governments, all of whose Foreign Ministers, with the exception of Gustav Stresemann, were in or near Geneva. Informal discussions of the reports of the experts were reported to have been held at Aix-les-Bains with Stanley Baldwin, the British Prime Minister.

It was reported that Poland and Czechoslovakia, after an unsuccessful effort to obtain a voice in the security agreement, would present the draft of a similar proposal applicable to the eastern German frontier. In a speech before the Assembly of the League on Sept. 10 Mr. Chamberlain explained the reasons for the rejection of the Geneva protocol by Great Britain, and defended

regional agreements like the security pact as a better method of insuring peace.

#### ADJUSTMENTS AND CONFERENCES

Progress in the settlement of a number of international controversies has been made during the month. The departure of the French and Belgian troops from Düsseldorf on Aug. 25 left the Ruhr free of allied forces. Diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Mexico, which were broken off in 1924, were resumed at the end of August. An agreement between Poland and Russia for the liquidation of recent incidents involving collisions of the border forces of the two countries was concluded on Aug. 29. It was reported that the negotiations for a Franco-German trade accord, in abeyance since last Spring, would be resumed. On Sept. 5, after three years of negotiation, a trade treaty was signed between Austria and Yugoslavia under which customs duties were to be materially reduced. A concordat between Poland and the Vatican, regulating the relations of Church and State in Poland, became effective on Sept. 9.

Announcements of international conferences, actual or prospective, continued to multiply. A universal church conference, attended by 500 delegates from thirty-five countries, opened at Stockholm on Aug. 19. Invitations to forty-two nations to participate in a radio-telegraph conference at Washington in 1926 were issued by the United States on Aug. 21. The Labor and Socialist International, reorganized at Hamburg in 1923, held its sessions at Marseilles on Aug. 22-27. The first child welfare conference closed at Geneva on Aug. 28. An international telegraph conference, to which delegates and technical advisers were appointed by the United States, convened in Paris on Sept. 1, and a mid-European free trade congress in Vienna on Sept. 8.

W. P. Cooke of Buffalo was appointed on Sept. 2 President of the arbitral tribunal which is to deal with disputes arising under the Dawes plan.

# From Foreign Periodicals

## Germany Between East and West

From LE FLAMBEAU, Brussels, July 31, 1925

THE writer of this article, Professor Edmond Vermeil of the University of Strasbourg, regards the opposition between the Oriental and the Occidental civilizations and Germany's intermediary position as the fundamental problem of the future. Since the literary revolution of the "Sturm-und-Drang" period, in the eighteenth century, German thought has tended to look to the Orient for an ideal of life more in conformity with the German spirit. That was the significance of the Hellenism of Goethe, of the romantic interest in Oriental splendor and in Asiatic philosophical systems, of the mystical protest against the mechanistic, liberal and individualist civilization of the West, to which was opposed the ideal of a civilization based on love as a universal force of unity and organization. This ideal, which found full expression in Wagner's creations, has also been at the basis of Pan-Germanism. Those are the philosophical and intellectual origins of the World War. In fact, it may be said that the nineteenth century saw two revolutions in Europe, the French and the German, of which one culminated in Napoleonism and the other in Pan-Germanism. In its attack upon the West Pan-Germanism has been but the vanguard in the encounter between the two worlds. The Russian revolution is a clear indication of the character of the impending world conflict, and Germany's position is a matter of the gravest concern. Even the Weimar Constitution is a compromise between Western and Russian principles, and the writings of such men as Spengler, Keyserling and Thomas Mann show that German political thought since the war has been gravitating toward Russia and the Orient. The negotiations for a security compact are an attempt to attach Germany to a consortium designed to protect Western civilization against the Oriental danger. But Germany hesitates to join the League of Nations frankly as a Western power and definitely to break with the East.

## Alignment of the Powers

From EUROPAEISCHE GESPRÄCHE, Hamburg, June, 1925

THE outstanding features of the present political alignment, as outlined by Arvid Balk in the important review cited, are, on the one hand, the Anglo-Saxon combination,

whose consummation dates from the Washington Disarmament Conference and which has had for its counterpart the end of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and, on the other, the Oriental combination now in process of formation and which is based on a coalition of Japan, Russia and China. The powers of Continental Europe are too closely connected both with the Anglo-Saxon and with the Asiatic group to be able to maintain neutrality in the impending conflict over the Pacific and over Asia, which will thus be fought out on the Rhine. There have been definite indications of a rapprochement between France and Japan after France's endeavors to reach an anti-British understanding with the United States were frustrated at the Washington Conference. There is thus the possibility of France joining hands with the Oriental group across the continent, which would spell disaster for England. "Germany may yet be again placed in the necessity of making a choice."

## Poland and the Austrian Problem

From L'EST EUROPEEN, Warsaw, June, 1925

THE preservation of Austria's independence is a financial and economic impossibility, in the opinion of the writer, W. Fabierkiewicz. The optimistic view of the Austrian situation, as expressed in the latest report of the League of Nations Commissioner, is based primarily upon the successful balancing of the national budget of that country. The budgetary equilibrium, however, has been attained, thanks to exceptionally favorable business conditions in 1923 and to very heavy taxation, and only to a feeble extent through the curtailment of expenditures. There are now many alarming symptoms which warrant serious doubts as to the stability of that equilibrium and of Austria's economic position in general: The growing unemployment since the middle of 1924; the low quotations of stocks; the high money and discount rates, and, above all, the unfavorable balance of trade. It had been expected that the latter would be offset by Austria's revenues as a financial broker, but Vienna has forfeited her place as the financial centre for Central and Eastern Europe as a result of the part she played in the Spring of 1924 in the speculation on the fall of the French franc. The only method whereby Austria can balance her international accounts is through the gradual selling out of her national property. This, however, is but an ex-



pedient which may serve for a few years only, after which a catastrophe is bound to come. Poland's vital interests do not allow her to wait passively for further developments and make it imperative for her to choose forthwith between the two suggested methods of liquidation of Austria as an independent State, namely, annexation to Germany or a Danubian federation.

The former solution has been favored by many in Poland, including such leaders of the anti-German camp as Roman Dmowski, both for sentimental reasons and for those of political expediency. Poland would evidently benefit by a change that would open to Germany other possibilities of expansion than toward the east, would definitely align Italy, Yugoslavia and Rumania in the anti-German camp, would cause Czechoslovakia to look to Poland for support, would eventually lead to a resurrection of the Russo-German and Anglo-German antagonism in the Near East, and would strengthen within Germany the federalist tendencies and the influence of Catholic States. There are, however, from the Polish standpoint, strong objections against Austria's union with Germany. There is the danger of an increase in Germany's competitive power in the markets of Southern and Eastern Europe. Above all, the decisive consideration that ought to determine Poland's opposition to the proposed solution is that the annexation of Austria to Germany would mean for Poland the loss of the only channel through which she might obtain supplies from the outside world in the event of a war, since the "access to the sea" at Danzig has become a caricature and the "access to the sea" at Memel has worked out as the closing of that port to all Polish goods.

On the other hand, there is much vagueness in the idea of a Danubian federation. The soundest solution would be to include in the membership all those countries all or part of whose territories were formerly a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This would include Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia and Italy. As the major interests of some of those countries lie outside the former Austro-Hungarian territory, the federation would necessarily be a rather loose union, primarily a tariff union, with some additional mutual facilities for transportation and commerce. The creation of the federation would imply the dissolution of the Little Entente, and, on the other hand, provisions to guarantee the security of the present frontiers. It would further mean a revision of the charges imposed upon Hungary under the terms of the peace treaties, joint action

by the federated States in the League of Nations, and so forth. The tariff provisions would have to be enacted with a view to protecting primarily the weakest members of the federation, that is, Austria in the first place and Hungary next. This might involve considerable sacrifices on the part of the other members and might also require the enactment of special preferential tariffs, exempted from all provisions of most-favored-nation clauses. In view of the great complexity of the problems involved, political and economic, it would be advisable to proceed immediately to their preliminary study in special commissions of the League of Nations.

### The Riff, France and Islam

From LA REVUE MONDIALE, Paris, Aug. 1, 1925

FRANCE'S difficulties in Morocco are discussed by ex-Minister Victor Augagneur as a consequence of the inconsistency of her policy in dealing with the Moslem world. Through her failure to support Turkey's claims at the Lausanne Conference, contrary to the pledges given by M. Franklin-Bouillon at the time of the Angora armistice, France has forfeited the advantages of the exceptional moral authority which she enjoyed among the Moslems five years ago. The Egyptians likewise believe that they have been deserted by France, and this is due to the failure of the French press, acting under instructions of the Government, to take up their defense last year, in spite of the universal sympathy with the people of Egypt that has prevailed in France. The result has been that in Egypt, as in Turkey and all other Moslem countries, Abd-el-Krim has been hailed as a leader and funds are raised for his support. In addition to the military solution, therefore, which consists of energetic action with a view to driving the Riffians back into their mountains, the Moroccan problem requires a political solution, which must be based on France's determination to follow such a policy in the East as will serve her own interests, even at the risk of having to act independently of her allies when their interests do not agree with hers.

### Political Disenchantment in Rumania

From DIE DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU, Berlin, July 1925

WHAT the writer of this article, Rudolf Brandsch, member of the Rumanian Parliament, describes as "disenchantment" is the growing realization among the people of

Rumania that their country has lost more than it gained through actively joining the war. Though Rumania's war gains in territory, population and natural resources have been greater than those of any other country, she is at the same time of all countries the one that has the most causes for concern over the future. Rumania is passing through a severe economic crisis, of which no end is in sight. She has lost her position as one of the leading agricultural countries. Her exports of wheat and of wheat flour totaled 120,000 tons in 1923, as compared with 1,276,000 tons in 1913, and the consumption of bread has had to be restricted in some localities. There has likewise been an appalling fall in the production and export of other agricultural products, of timber, of oil products, and so forth. Industry has been handicapped by the shortage of

money and of credit, which has been enhanced by the Government's stubborn adherence to the policy of deflation; the prevailing interest rate is 24 to 30 per cent. and more. Politically, the situation is characterized by violent partisan struggles, a succession of Cabinet crises, impotence of the Government to protect law and order, and general discontent. Finally, Rumania's international position has been impaired as a result of the war. She is practically isolated, surrounded by enemies or by unreliable friends, and has no protection against the ever-present Russian menace such as was formerly afforded by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The writer believes that the leaders of Rumania are bound to awaken, though slowly, to the realities of the situation and to see that Rumania's fate is tied up with that of Central Europe.

## DEATHS OF PERSONS OF PROMINENCE

The REV. DR. JAMES C. R. EWING, President of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and for forty years a missionary in India, at Princeton, N. J., on Aug. 20, aged 71.

VICTOR FREMONT LAWSON, editor and publisher of The Chicago Daily News, at Chicago, Ill., on Aug. 19, aged 74.

DR. CHARLES FREDERICK CHANDLER, chemist, educator and former President of the Health Department of New York City, at Hartford, Conn., on Aug. 25, aged 88.

FIELD MARSHAL COUNT FRANCIS CONRAD VON HOETZENDORF, Chief of the Imperial Austrian General Staff during the World War, at Gentheim, Württemberg, on Aug. 25, aged 73.

DR. HENRY JONES FORD, for fifteen years Professor of Government and Politics at Princeton University and author of numerous historical works, at Blue Ridge, Summit, Pa., on Aug. 29, aged 74.

WILLIAM OSBORN STODDARD, assistant private secretary to President Lincoln from 1861 to 1865 and last survivor of Lincoln's secretaries, at Madison, N. J., on Aug. 29, aged 90.

GENERAL ASCLEPIADE GONDOLFO, Commander-in-Chief of the Fascist Militia, at Rome, Italy, on Aug. 30.

DR. PETER SPAHN, German Centrist leader and former President of the Reichstag, at Bad-



Harris & Ewing

RENE VIVIANI  
Former Premier of  
France, who has just  
died

Wildungen, Waldeck, on Sept. 1, aged 78.

HENRY HOBART VAIL, American publisher and former editor-in-chief of the American Book Company, at Woodstock, Vt., on Sept. 2, aged 86.

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, a partner in J. P. Morgan & Co., at Locust Valley, N. Y., on Sept. 3, aged 60.

The REV. THOMAS B. NEELY, retired Bishop of the Methodist Church and for many years a leader of Methodist organization work in South America, at Philadelphia, Pa., on Sept. 4, aged 84.

RENE VIVIANI, Premier of France at the outbreak of the World War in August, 1914, at Clamart, near Paris, on Sept. 7, aged 61.

The REV. JACOB ABRAM CLUTZ, Lutheran leader and former President of the Lutheran General Synod, at Stockholm, Sweden, on Sept. 7, aged 77. Mr. Clutz, who lived in Gettysburg, Pa., went to Sweden as an American delegate to the Universal Christian Conference.

HENRY LINCOLN JOHNSON, negro leader and Republican politician, at Washington, D. C., on Sept. 10, aged 55.

DR. JAMES HUTCHINS BAKER, President of the University of Colorado, 1892-1914, and writer on psychology, at Denver, Col., on Sept. 10, aged 76.